

FOREIGN AID: Canadians on the line • **CRIME:** The mystery of Albert Walker

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Macleans

DECEMBER 16, 1996

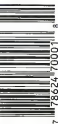
Big Bad Buzz

The labor
boss who
rattles the
boardrooms

Can Canadian
Airlines
survive the
deal?

IN leader
Bill (Buzz) Hargrove

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From The Editor

A classic showdown



In the end, it was a classic showdown with all the bazaar events and issues that take place when big business, big labor and governments come to the precipice: a company threatening to close, a fiery union leader defying the boss, monetary concessions, a surprise intervention by Ottawa—and finally an agreement that allowed all the warring parties to claim victory, and this is an era when government is supposed to stay out of corporate affairs. The big question now is whether the brinkmanship that produced the deal will allow Canadian Airlines to survive. Will the company be back, esp in hand, requesting more wage reductions and more restructuring? Is the airline business in Canada still big enough, after deregulation, for two national carriers?

The jury is out on the last question. In September, Air Canada president Lamar Dierrett, a seasoned veteran of the U.S. airline wars, told Molson's that "at some point this country will have to face up to the fact that we need one international airline." But he also noted that "the mood is simply not there to take a large company with thousands of employees and see it disappear."

That reality was confirmed during the months of negotiations that led to last Saturday's settlement. At first, Canadian president Kevin Benson said that the \$70 million he needed to keep the company flying had to come from the workers alone. He was not looking for government money, he said; there was no Plan B. Ottawa dismissed the dispute as a private corporate matter—a stance

that lasted only until Western Canada roared angrily that the Prime Minister had just handed out an \$87 million assistance package to Quebec's Bombardier Inc. Ottawa started talking dollars and five unions came aboard.

Dreadnought: Enter Bailing Boss Hargrove, head of the powerful Canadian Auto Workers, representing more than one-fifth of the employees—the airline's face to the public at ticket counters. Having lobbied General Motors into postponing outsourcing during contract talks earlier in the fall, Hargrove had established himself as the country's most powerful labor leader. His refusal to go along with the other five unions at Canadian in accepting wage cuts without some form of re-regulation provoked an act of crime, infuriating many Canadians: employees and prompting travelers to start withholding their holiday bookings to Air Canada. Ottawa fell back with a promiscuously armed section of the labor code that would have forced Hargrove's members to vote on the existing concession package. Hargrove had to recognize that the negotiations were over. The stage was set for a settlement. With \$32 million in wage concessions from the unions, topped up by \$30 million in federal relief on fuel taxes, \$11 million in assistance from B.C. Premier Glen Clark and \$8 million from Alberta, Benson had what he needed. There was a Plan B.



Hargrove, the most powerful labor leader in Canada

Robert Lewis

Newsroom Notes:

The war zone

Covering events in a war zone is never easy. But for London-based Bureau Chief Bruce Wallace, the refugee crisis in Zaire and Rwanda last month featured all the usual difficulties—and then some. As he made the drive from Kigali, the Rwandan capital, to the Zairean border to cover the dramatic



Wallace enroute

exodus of Rwandan refugees, the crush of humanity was such that he literally walked the last miles among the terrified and hungry subjects of his reports in the Nov. 25 and Dec. 2 issues. A Special Report this week, overseen by World Editor Bertin Woodward, looks at how aid organizations operate in such conflicts. "You encounter a lot of brave people," says Wallace, "but the aid community realizes it has to exam-

ine what it does and what the effects really are." Senior Writer Nora Morris, meanwhile, examined Canada's aid policies. Correspondents in China, Czechoslovakia and the West Bank filed profiles of Canadians working on aid projects there.

Double issue

A special edition of Maclean's, on sale from Dec. 23 to Jan. 6, will feature the annual poll on the national mood, along with a portfolio of the top photos from 1995 and an essay by Peter C. Newman on the coming new millennium.

ALEC BALDWIN

WHOOPI GOLDBERG

JAMES WOODS

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GHOSTS OF MISSISSIPPI



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"GHOSTS OF MISSISSIPPI" CRAIG NELSON writing by JANE JENNINS, C.S.A. and JONET HARRINGTON, C.S.A. music by MARK STEINBERG
editor ROBERT LUGGATION production designer LINDA REIFERT director of photography JOHN SEALE, A.S.C. executive producers CHARLES NEWBISH, JEFFREY STOTT
written by LARRY CORKIN producers FRIDERICK ZOLLO, NORMAN MACDONALD and ANDREW SCHEINMAN produced and directed by ROB REIFER

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Shrike Wren
Thrush

The *Wall Street Journal* ("Canada, New 111") writes that "The transgressions of [B.C. Premier] Glen Clark and his government are almost innumerable, but the British Columbia standard for scandal is staged against former premier Bill Vander Zander's 1991 post-vested dealings. There is one difference. Although Vander Zander's dealings were inappropriate and unethical, the only people who really felt any effect from them were his real estate agents, fellow party members and close associates. Now, we have a government that misled the entire population of British Columbia. They wanted us to believe the budget was balanced and we had a surplus. When it became clear that this was untrue, they told us that thousands would lose their jobs and that the antiscandal Forestry Branch

Cam Stewart
Creative Arts III

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THE MAIL Darwinian medicine

I found Barbara Asen's reference to econormically sound and econormically useless lives ("How to preserve the health-care industry," Column Dec. 2)—distinguishing between "real" and "false"—to be a welcome contribution to medical treatment—entirely reprehensible. Shouldn't we preserve what we can? And even if we had killed the Canada that the United Nations ranks first among nations in terms of quality of life, he'd be right at the end of the medical queue for being econormically useless? Darwin never posited survival of the econormically fittest, let alone suggested that they should be entitled to preferential medical treatment.

Grand Gravelton,
Victoria

Playing Anne

Please be advised that Sarah Polley did not play the role of Anne in the CBC series "Anne of Green Gables" and "Anne of the Windy Poles." The film, Nov. 25, rather she starred in Sarah Stanley. It was, of course, Megan Follows who portrayed the imaginative Anne Shirley in the movie version of *Anne of Green Gables*.

Barbara A. Jones
Albion

Quality of education

It was appalling to discover that Ontario Grade 8 students scored last last in math and science ("Making the grade," Canada Notes, Dec. 2). Yet the government continues to cut school funding, close schools and generally ignore the fact that quality education is badly lacking in Canada. Forget providing "resources" to students ("Too many library books," Nov. 18), provide smaller classes, better trained teachers and a more rigorous course of study.

Wendy Frost
Dundas, Ont.

The Road Ahead

Business with a conscience

There are in the world at least two sets of humans: those who add power, shoring up the "just" and "comp" to the cultural art, and those who add jobs that enable people to live with some independence and dignity. Since nobody can live on words, it is clear the latter are by no means inferior to the former. Indeed, a successful business run by a manager that takes some pleasure in providing, conserving and promoting benefits is a beautiful human creation, a genuine work of art. Business art, like all art, is not common; it requires persons who feel the pathos of humanity and want to contribute something worthwhile.

The free-enterprise economic system has been built primarily by those in top management who bring obscenely high incomes for themselves, plus expensive perks; human greed clearly knows no bounds, and power corrupts even the well-intentioned. This blight, however, could be largely rectified by legislation requiring all employers to recompense their most highly paid officer no more than a stipulated multiple of the salary of their least compensated full-time employee.

Lawrence Scott,
Lacombe, Ont.

It appears in educational news that only last year "teachers" the group. It is certainly less than my observation as a teacher of 35 years that our performance in elementary mathematics and science leaves something to be desired. But what about the good news that last that in the same Third International Mathematics and Science Study results published in *Science* in the Oct. 18 issue, Canadian secondary school students scored last

For example, if Magna International Inc. can afford to pay \$300 almost \$500 million a year, it would have to pay its cafeteria staff \$150,000 a year (or whatever the multiple in this example assumes the company would still be paying the top guy \$33 1/3 times more than the ones at the bottom of the ladder). Apart from anything else, excessive personal wealth is still ugly, unbecoming and to the point.

Against an ideal of equality, any version of a free-enterprise economy will fall short. Adults, however, should learn from history: communism and capitalism, equality have been tried, and failed badly. Equality must fail since it is illusory, unattainable. What is attainable is a large measure of social freedom guaranteed by laws enacted by representatives subject to elections every four years or so, socially useful work to do, and the personal dignity of independence thanks to earned income.

Many people view all commerce as necessarily ugly—yet are eager to own and buy. Less ugly, more appreciation of the human effort and a deeper sense of the fragility and mystery of life would benefit us all.

Do not think that the quality of education is a purely academic matter. It is a social and economic problem. The quality of education is not a purely academic matter.

and elsewhere across China, Russia, Germany, Korea, Japan, France, Australia, the United States and Switzerland. If the results were to show about something missing, we would be about the performance of our secondary schools. Perhaps the media are ignorant of the good news out there, or perhaps it is just unable to knock the education.

John Pearson,
Albion, Ont.

Maclean's

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ERICSSON

An American View



Fred Bruning

A death penalty for two teenage lovers

The season to be jolly, except maybe at the office of the Delaware attorney general, where prosecutors have placed on their holiday wish list the execution of two 18-year-old defendants. Grant are the fathers for Brian Peterson Jr. and Amy Grossberg, teenage lovers from New Jersey accused of murdering their newborn son. Melancholy, too, is the news for all Americans because capital punishment—with its cold and capricious nature, its vengeful spirit, its blind disdain for redemption, its openness to political manipulation, its coarse racial arithmetic, its false promise of a quick fix for what ails society—dominates us, every day.

The story of Peterson and Grossberg is a pathetic tale worthy of *Nightclub Bandwagons* or *Shogun: Drifter*. From the affluent north Jersey suburbs, the sweethearts had been out of high school only a few months when Grossberg, a freshman at the University of Delaware, and Peterson, who had just begun studies at Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania, found the secret they both had kept all summer could be sustained no longer. Grossberg was pregnant and her water had broken, and now she was on the phone calling Peterson and telling him to quickly drive the three hours to the Delaware campus.

From Grossberg's dormitory, the teenagers hurried to a motel in Newark, Del., where an ill-fated son, Grossberg gave birth to a one-pound two-ounce boy. How different the world must suddenly have seemed to Peterson and Grossberg. How possibly complicated and confusing. A little while ago, they were a couple of American kids finishing high school and dreaming of all their lovely tomorrow. Now they were in Room 220 of the Colonial Inn trying to decide what to do with an unwanted infant boy—their son. Who knows what went through their minds—why they did not take any of the sensible options available to anyone in their predicament? Who knows why, facing the most important choice of their young lives, Peterson and Grossberg chose so badly?

Court papers allege that, after assisting in the delivery of the baby boy, Peterson wrapped the infant in plastic and deposited the baby in a dumpster near the motel. Peterson later told his brother the child was alive when left in the trash bin. But investigators say the child had not died from suffocation as exposure. An autopsy showed that the baby perished due to "blunt force trauma and shaking"—that someone had crushed the infant's skull. The baby born in Room 220 was a homicide, and a nasty one at that.

Almost unanimously, prosecutors said they would seek the death penalty and—though a harsh and hasty judgment—there is little

wonder why authorities acted so decisively. Involved in the case were a couple of wealthy white kids, after all, and it would be difficult to explain why these defendants were being spared a punishment so routinely imposed on other Americans—the ones whose skin is the wrong color and whose families do not own houses in elite New Jersey suburbs. More than half the 3,108 prisoners on death row in the United States are nonwhite. Poverty is endemic among the doomed. Any prosecutor in Delaware who gave Peterson and Grossberg a break would invite questions about overindulgence. The state, though tiny, has the highest per capita execution rate in the nation.

What a nightmare. Grossberg was arrested after a brief stay in the hospital. Peterson remained a fugitive for a few days. His attorney said the boy gnawed at the thought of the death sentence—lethal injection in this case—and that at one point his mother considered hanging him out of the country. When finally he gave himself up, Peterson was met by the squeaky roof of reporters, photographers and community workers. "Baby killer," shouted a spectator. "Fry him," said another. One person called out, "Brian, you are a sorry person."

In an instant, the art of execution attending the death penalty was described. Americans either thrill at this most brutal application of state authority or shudder from its sudden face. If there is a middle position, rarely as it discussed, *The Delaware episode strikes in our confusion on the question and the duplicity of the capital punishment system—a renegade machine that screams through the soul of American society. In its path this time are the sons of kids who formerly stood clear of trouble. Lawbreakers turning capital punishment victims. Bullied and abused, they are now the ones who legislate.*

"I have to say this is not a situation any other legislator could imagine," said Republican state representative Terry Spencer. Exactly what does that failure of imagination suggest? Who did legislators have in mind when they passed a 1994 death statute specific to the killing of children? "I was just saving to my wife," Spencer remarked. "How can you apply the law to a couple like that?" A couple like what? If the death penalty is appropriate in some cases, Spencer and his colleagues must have the courage to defend it in all—not such an easy task.

And the killers of the dead, battered child had tossed into a waste receptacle like a sack of trash—what becomes of them? They must be dealt with surely but not by death, not by cruelty, not by a pain inherent so primitive that it makes justice, whenever applied, loathers. But the couple—now awaiting grand jury appearances—may adopt an unusual defense. Meanwhile, there is speculation that prosecutors are reviewing their options. In this season of goodwill, restraint may yet prevail over righteous and. Sure as any Christmas star, mercy sheds its grace on all.

Fred Bruning is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.

Opening Notes

Edited by MARGARET WICKENS

The backside of the lingerie business

For decades, women strove to break out—both physically and psychologically—of constricting corsets. Yet, in a seemingly backwards move, figure-conforming elements are making a major comeback. “The old ones that the girls had had for years in place,” claims Karrie Washer, vice-president of marketing at Montreal-based La Senza Lingerie. “The new products are more comfortable and streamlined.” The actual backs, the boning and heavy rubber are gone:

in their place, layers now smooth out the bumps. And just who is buying the tampon-busting, waist-snapping, bum-lifting “body shapers” in such staggering numbers that many Canadian lingerie shops sell out weekly? Surprisingly, not baby boomers concerned with midlife-age spread, but also, younger women. “The women who wear smaller sizes are buying the spot shapers to wear under tight, sexy dresses,” says John Bana, head buyer for Montreal-based lingerie retail chain La Vie En Rose. The body-shapers are likely to control women this time around: say industry insiders, just as long as tight clothes have a stronger hold on ladies—and there is no end in sight.



Figure-tense, catnip-like underwear: 'body shapers'

Frugal funerals

When a client comes to a home, as Washers says, area manager Jan Garrett takes the man, which is equipped with simple cremation urns, a catalogue of caskets, and other funeral accessories. Garrett, who goes to a client's home, will plan everything from a cremation to a simple backyard memorial or a more elaborate funeral in which she contracts out services to other local professionals. Says Garrett, “The cost of each individual service depends on what the family wants.”

Funeral director Russell Himmelfarb says the company—a subsidiary of Houston-based Service Corp. International, the largest funeral company in North America—shows Vancouver as its first Canadian location because it has “a high cremation rate; a diverse population base and a number of different ethnic groups that choose alternative, or non-traditional services.”



Scars from a September storm at the impact site

A robot to rove Mars

On Dec. 4, NASA launched the Mars Pathfinder—the agency's first mission to the surface of the red planet in 30 years. When the spacecraft lands on July 4, it will leave its mobile-only (and robot) rover, Sojourner, which will attempt to traverse the poorly understood Martian terrain. Smaller than a child's wagon, the six-wheeled, solar-powered Sojourner is state-of-the-art micro-robot.

Length: 19 inches	Top speed: 4 metres per minute
Weight: 10 inches	Minimum deployment: 7 meter drop
Weight: 28 lb., including 12 lb. of telecommunications equipment	Cost: \$24 million

Silence in Ottawa

It was the day that Gordon Slater had long anticipated. During the recently completed 339-episode regular job at the Peace Tower, Parliament Hill's capitol was silent for 37 months. But last week, Slater, the official Dominion Carillonneur, who plays one of only 21 carillons on the continent, was finally able to return to work. Before the repairs were started, Slater, 45, had never missed a day on the job since his appointment in 1977. In fact, month-long concerts have rung out across Ottawa since 1927, when the carillon—essentially a large instrument similar to a piano, except that its clappers beat bells rather than strings—was installed. Unfortunately, the dedicated Slater lost his return shattered. The day the carillon was returned to action, a clipper broke for the first time since 1981, a mishap that will take up to two weeks to repair. Said a clearly impatient Slater: “This is not what I wanted two years for.”

Finding the source

Like the Victorian-era explorers of long ago, the researchers at the Nils Riber, an institute at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto have constructed a genetic screening for its elusive stem cells, the source of all blood cells. Last week, scientists John Dick and his team announced that they had located their embryonic equivalent of Listeria. They found that stem cells reside up to just one in a million bone marrow cells. The discovery may be a medical milestone on the road to new treatments for inherited blood disorders like leukemia and sickle cell anemia. They then tested whether stem cells could be altered by gene therapy, a procedure used to insert normal, healthy genes into diseased-cancer cells. But even though other similar blood cells are known to respond well to gene therapy, the procedure failed. The finding is considered a setback because it forces scientists to rethink gene therapy and could delay the development of treatments. The isolation of stem cells and the new insights, however, hold the promise of eventual cures, and that was worth a party. Or, as Dick put it: “I have a bottle of very good champagne that's sitting open on my desk.”

MEDICINE WATCH

It's a bold book of 123 black-and-white photographs by such celebrated luminaries as Mary Ray, Michael Newton and Robert Magliorini, accented by literary snippets by writers ranging from Margaret Atwood to Henry Miller, all celebrating the extreme and sensuous emotion of sexual desire.



Robert Magliorini: Rave review

Martin and the pig

A man of firm convictions is every part of Alan White, federal Finance Minister Paul Martin alternately infuriates and delights friends with his strong words—even when it comes to movies. He says he “absolutely abhors” what he calls totalitarian movies, and first out refused to accompany his wife, Sheri, when she went to see *Sense and Sensibility*. But he performs “a good Clint Eastwood or John Wayne flick anytime.” But there are signs Martin may be melting: In an interview last week, he said his favorite movie of the past year was *Babe*, about the talking pig. And his favorite character was the key out of “I really liked the way he talked his way out of things.” Another of his top picks was *Al Pacino*, about the life it attacks. The reason? “It helped me understand life in the Ottawa press gallery.”

BEST-SELLERS

FICITION

1. *Love Letters*, Margaret Atwood (12)
2. *The Endgame*, Ray Charles (20)
3. *The City of Dreadful Night*, John Galsworthy (10)
4. *Princess Anne*, John Galsworthy (10)
5. *Let's Get It On*, John Galsworthy (10)
6. *The Endgame*, Ray Charles (20)
7. *The City of Dreadful Night*, John Galsworthy (10)
8. *The City of Dreadful Night*, John Galsworthy (10)
9. *The City of Dreadful Night*, John Galsworthy (10)
10. *The City of Dreadful Night*, John Galsworthy (10)

NONFICTION

1. *Black Bodies*, David J. Reardon (12)
2. *The Endgame*, Ray Charles (20)
3. *My Story*, David J. Reardon (12)
4. *A History of Writing*, Albert Einstein (14)
5. *Black Bodies*, David J. Reardon (12)
6. *Black Bodies*, David J. Reardon (12)
7. *Black Bodies*, David J. Reardon (12)
8. *Black Bodies*, David J. Reardon (12)
9. *Black Bodies*, David J. Reardon (12)
10. *Black Bodies*, David J. Reardon (12)

The art of intimacy

It's a bold book of 123 black-and-white photographs by such celebrated luminaries as Mary Ray, Michael Newton and Robert Magliorini, accented by literary snippets by writers ranging from Margaret Atwood to Henry Miller, all celebrating the extreme and sensuous emotion of sexual desire.

POP MOVIES

Director Tim Burton unleashes an all-star cast in *Edward Scissorhands*, the 1990s version of the 1970s, Smith overcomes the short lived experience of the entire league into the United States.



Edward Scissorhands: Cold War fan

1. <i>Edward Scissorhands</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
2. <i>The Endgame</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
3. <i>Princess Anne</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
4. <i>Let's Get It On</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
5. <i>The Endgame</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
6. <i>The Endgame</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
7. <i>The Endgame</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
8. <i>The Endgame</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
9. <i>The Endgame</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000
10. <i>The Endgame</i> (1990)	\$2,041,000

Source: Entertainment Weekly

Passages

DIED: Industrialist and philanthropist Peter Bunting, 67, who with his brother Edward oversaw the largest concrete-



DIED: Canadian country music legend Willie Nelson, 51, in Scottsdale, Ariz. Known to millions as “Montana Man,” Nelson’s popularity spanned six decades.

DIED: Great Escape participant Sydney Green, 78, who died in the exhibition of some 80 Allied soldiers from the German POW camp Stalag Luft III during the Second World War, of a heart attack, in Prince George, B.C.

DIED: Ukulele-strumming arranger Ray Tomlinson, 64, best-known for his 1958 hit song “Up-Top-Top” for the Dapels with Mike, of a heart attack in Minneapolis.

RESIGNING: Larry Smith, 45, after five years as commissioner of the Canadian Football League. A moving back with the Montreal Alouettes for more seasons in the 1970s, Smith overcame the short lived experience of the entire league into the United States.

DIED: Peter McKee, 79, who as commissioner of the National Football League for 29 years until 1989 oversaw the Super Bowl and Monday Night Football, of brain cancer, in Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.

REUNITED: Canadian actress Pamela Anderson Lee, 29, and American rocker Tommy Lee, 34, after being in love for five years in Los Angeles, with McKee, 63, after a four-year separation. Tommy Lee blamed his alcohol abuse for the rift in their marriage. Lee is reported to have forgiven Jagger’s adulteries.

SENTENCED: Jonathan Schmitz, 26, to 25 to 20 years in prison for killing a gay adherent, Scott Anderson, who had had his last meal on Schmitz during a hearing at the Jersey State Prison in Pontiac, Mich.



question now becomes, can Canadian survive the new deal? Certainly few observers appeared to be under the illusion that the package will guarantee the future of Canadian Airlines, which has not posted a profit since 1988 and is currently \$2.8 billion in debt. But the union's president and CEO, Kevin Benson, sounded an optimistic note about the agreement: "It lets us now get word out to our customers that they can fly with us this Christmas and for many Christmas to come," he said in Calgary.

In Ottawa and provincial capitals across the West, there was relief about the outcome of the negotiations. The federal government, with an eye on plans in Western Canada in the next election, could ill afford to be seen as complacent about the fate of one of the region's major companies—and a time when it had made major financial concessions to Quebec's aerospace and transportation giant Bombardier Inc. For Anderson, who played a central role in the negotiations, the airline was a much needed boost in stock after several setbacks. For Hargrove, his tough handling of the issue appeared to have bolstered his stock among the ranks as the most powerful labor leader in the country (page 32).

For their part, CAW members will be asked to accept a wage rollback package averaging 3.7 per cent. In addition, Ottawa has agreed to re-examine the future of Canada's airline industry and the troublesome issue of deregulation. Anderson said he would consider the recommendations of a committee, to be made up of airline, union, consumer and industry analysts, that will study what the CAW termed Canadian Airlines' "destructive competition" with Air Canada. Said Hargrove: "Too many planes are flying with empty seats, which has led to years of losses at Canadian." He added that the public will not live up with the government standing off by and watching two major airlines try to destroy one another in hopes one of them will end up with a monopoly. But while the government will consider the committee's recommendations, Anderson has insisted since becoming involved in the negotiations on Nov. 13 that the scope of re-regulation the CAW leader had in mind is unacceptable to Ottawa.

Canadian's other five airlines had agreed already to concessions, bringing the total value to about \$32 million. Originally, Benson had sought \$70 million in wage rollbacks. But Ottawa, British Columbia and Alberta stepped in with about \$38 million in relief—mostly in kerosene fuel taxes—and that reduced the sting for the labor leaders and their members. Benson's plan contemplates retooling at least another 3000 facilities by moving to smaller jets on some domestic flights and through reductions in the cost of its service contract with AMR.

Rising fuel costs have been a major factor in Canadian's recent problems along with setbacks on the previously lucrative Far East route because of the drop in the value of the Japanese yen. But Canadian also has suffered from the fierce competition of airline deregulation, launched by the Conservative government in 1988, and the open skies agreement signed by the Liberals in 1990.

The financial crisis is also firmly rooted in the company's past. In 1987, following the lead of many world airlines, Calgary-based re-

Do the ground in Calgary (left) Benson Ottawa parties



Photo by [unreadable]

Canada Opening skies

The deal is done—but will Canadian survive?

BY BARRY CAME

COVER

For a Prime Minister who boasts that he has no trouble keeping his hands off issues best delegated to the cabinet, Jean Chretien can sometimes be a decidedly hands-on leader. Even as he travels the distant capitals of Asia, Chretien insisted on daily briefings from home about the rapidly deteriorating situation at Canadian Airlines International Ltd. And by the time he returned last week from his week-long trip, the Prime Minister had concluded, according to an aide, "that something had to be done." Almost as soon as he stepped from his plane on Dec. 3, Chretien summoned Transport Minister David Anderson and Labor Minister Allan Rock, asking for options on how to resolve the deepening stalemate between the airline and the leadership of the Canadian Auto Workers union, which represents 3,708 of Canadian Airlines' 16,000 employees. Gagliano responded with a list, topped by the suggestion that the government

take unprecedented action by forcing a vote among CAW workers on a restructuring plan for the financially troubled airline, which called for union members to accept the key company demand for wage rollbacks. Such a course would put the government even more at odds with the CAW's combative president, Basil Boud Hargrove, who steadfastly refused to allow his members to vote on the package. But, confided the source, Chretien advised, "every year left that was a pretty good downside compared to the potential loss of the airline's 16,000 jobs."

On Dec. 4, the Chretien government acted, invoking Section 107 of the Canada Labor Code, an obscure but draconian clause that gives the federal authorities sweeping powers to "maintain or secure industrial peace." Under the terms of the order the federal labor relations board was directed to organize and hold a vote among the CAW's membership despite Hargrove's opposition. "I

was not a measure that we resorted to lightly," Gagliano told Maclean's. "We hoped and waited last Monday and Tuesday but by Wednesday, when it was clear there was no movement, we acted. Let's not forget that six unions are involved here—five said yes, one said no—and I think in a democratic state we have to allow democracy to work."

The controversial move provoked predictable outrage from the CAW leadership and some members of the rank and file, but it also fuelled a flurry of informal, behind-the-scenes negotiations between the union, the airline and Ottawa. The outcome at a Saturday morning news conference, the CAW announced that it, too, had agreed to the deal, and that it was the bargaining committee's "unanimous recommendation that our members accept this package."

That note, which will take seven days, was scheduled to begin this week. Meanwhile, Canadian Airlines must lock its concessions from its creditors and from AMR Corp., the parent of American Airlines, its 25-per-cent partner. For the money-losing airline, the big

global carrier Pacific Western Airlines parted Canada after buying CP Air from Canadian Pacific Ltd. Then, it acquired the charter company Marlinair, establishing itself as a clear rival to Air Canada—but saddling the company with a huge debt. Over the past four years, Canadian has required its employees in sharp wage reductions ranging between five and 17 per cent. Since that employees bought Air \$13 a share in the restructuring-closed last week at \$2.30. Despite the injection of \$249 million of equity in the 1986 deal with AMR, the company was back in debt support in two years.

The depth of emotion about the talks was evident in the inflammatory rhetoric of the past few weeks. "Some of the anger's leadership is still stuck back in the Sixties," Gagliano said. Hargrove and the CUP leadership declared Transport Minister Anderson last week, were guilty of "betraying the whole process." And, he said of Hargrove, "everywhere, every interview and every hour that passes is another nail in the coffin of the airline." The CWA's combative president meanwhile, reacted to the prospect of a federally forced vote with predictable anger, accusing the government of "taking away our right to collective bargaining" as well as "treating working people" everywhere in Canada.

But in spite of the angry words, the first indications began to emerge late last week that Ottawa's line of force may indeed have helped lead to a break through in the impasse. After an intense round of eleven-hour negotiations in a downtown Toronto hotel, both the union and Canadian Airlines came away at last reported progress. The CWA finally agreed to accept a pay cut well below the company's original 10-per-cent demand. In return, Canadian Airlines agreed to grant greater job security to the CWA's 3,700 reservations and ticket agents. Late Friday, Benson issued an optimistic letter to its company's employees. "How much can a landscape change in 48 hours?" he said. "Judging from where we were on Wednesday a lot!" And, he said, after co-



Protesters seek assistance after negotiations and lingering bad feelings

The talks put Ottawa and the union at loggerheads

terse negotiations "Canadian Airlines and the CWA resolved all outstanding issues required for the implementation of the compensation restructuring plan."

But one problem remained—and it revolved around the increasingly prickly relationship between the CWA and Clinton's government. "The issue-compensation deal hinged upon an agreement between the CWA and Ottawa to remove the nagging issue of airline deregulation that Hargrove claims lies at the root of Canadian Airlines' financial problems. At the deal's end, there was agreement on that score as well. Hargrove and Anderson had engaged in a rapid exchange of blows, all designed to trim out the details for a broadly based committee to examine the market forces and problems at work in Canada's airline industry. While Anderson publicly offered warm hope of fundamental changes in the existing regulatory climate, it soon became clear that both the government and the union had at least agreed to ensure the situation.

But throughout the negotiations, tough public posturing continued. If Hargrove was bolstered by the potential implications of a government-ordered vote—some Canadian Airlines employees had expressed deep dissatisfaction with the union's refusal to let members vote on the airline's proposed package—he betrayed no

sign of it as he emerged from a meeting late last week in Toronto at the CWA's 60th-anniversary governing council. Casually cited in newspaper and press, he freely admitted that some of his own's own membership probably weakened the opportunity to vote on the insoluble carrier's restructuring plan. "I'd be less than honest if I didn't tell you that a lot of them are relieved," he quipped.

At the same time, however, he refused to abandon the hard-nosed stance that characterized his handling of the current negotiations over Canadian as well as the similar tough bargaining position he employed in earlier negotiations with the country's auto manufacturers over the thorny issue of job outsourcing. "We are trying to set the time we have—before that forced vote takes place—in to the government that we are prepared to try to conduct a vote once we have on a proposal that would satisfy our concerns about the long-term viability of the airline," he told *Maclean's*.

For Hargrove, there are larger issues at stake than a pure financial restructuring plan for a struggling airline. Canadian, as his view is at all likelihood doomed to collapse, today serves as a model of "the insane destructive competitiveness" that followed upon the birth of airline deregulation. "For me, it's the mere saying of different levels of government that there is a real frustration among people across

the country over what's happening," he said. "The Business Council on National Issues published a document called 'The Global Village' in 1980-1982 that called for protectionism, deregulation, free trade with the United States, the goods and services too, expansion of trade with Mexico and so on close to zero inflation as you could get. Governments later followed that to T-Labour, Tory and NDP."

All of this, according to Hargrove, is part of a rapidly accelerating anti-labor union philosophy that is sweeping Canada as well as much of the developed world. "No question about it," he stoutly maintained. "It has undermined the strength of working people and dramatically shifted the balance of power in forcing wages down, benefits down and it threatens economic security. People are starting to react to that and they are angry." He argued that the government itself is unwittingly fueling a developing public backlash "by forcing the Canadian Airlines matter on to newspaper front pages and TV screens."

As for Mr. Hargrove's fate as a union leader is concerned, there is not much evidence that his position has been threatened by the lonely battle he has been waging over Canadian Airlines. "I think there will be anger for a long time," said Robert Woodruff, a professor of labor in the economics department of the University of Guelph. "He has taken the right attitude. Both sides know that the concessions being demanded will not save the airline. It was a smart move because the bailout certainly reduced the concessions he had to make. This might cause problems for the CWA among the general public, but Hargrove's job is safe because union members know he is fighting for them. They are his doing jobs."

In fact, for those harming Hargrove, Ottawa's resort to reverse measures is that in fact, have strengthened his position. "My sense is that it is very likely to backfire for the government and for Canadian," said Simon Fraser University professor Mark Lusk, an expert on the history of the Canadian labor movement. "People in labor are horrified about what this means in terms of a possible precedent. It seems to me that rather than just letting their trade unionists onto the line, it is more likely to provoke them into trying to make sure that these kinds of efforts in the future. It's just a matter of self-defense."

Certainly Ottawa appears to be under no illusions that the restructuring plan will miraculously save the troubled airline. "I can guarantee that Mr. Benson's plan will lead to profitability," Anderson acknowledged in an interview last week with *Maclean's*. "Just can't guarantee that—I don't know. All I do know is it's the only game in town." And for Jean Chrétien's government and Buzz Hargrove's union, the stakes have been high enough that both have been more than willing to gamble on the outcome.

With ANDREW KILSON-MANN and LARRY FISHER in Ottawa, RAY CORRELL in Toronto, MARK NEWMY in Calgary and SCOTT STEELE in Vancouver

Contingency plans

Canadian Airlines officials have warned repeatedly that without pay concessions from all its unions, the carrier will have to shut down. But there is a number of questions for would-be travelers.

What should Canadian Airlines ticket holders do if they are booked to fly during the restructuring period or the new year? Holiday travelers should sit tight, says Hugh Campbell, president of the Alliance of Canadian Travel Associations, a 3,500-member organization made up of travel agencies, tour operators, airlines and other travel-related companies. "I can't see any problem whatsoever over the holiday season," he says. In a worst-case scenario, Canadian would not cease operations until at least February, says David Lee, vice president of Toronto-based GIANTS Travel Ltd., a consortium of about 800 independent agencies across Canada. That may be good comfort for those who have tickets booked later in the year. But those tickets often do not have

to be paid for until they are printed up, says Campbell. Canadian has not decided on the refund policy it would adopt in the event it was prevented, says France Pollin, a spokeswoman for the airline. But Glynn Williams, an industry analyst with Newmont Capital Inc. in Toronto, says there is only a slim chance Canadian will fold. "The odds are the airline will continue to provide service," he says. "The question is, who's going to own it?" If the carrier does not survive, its operators would wind down over a period of months, he expects. Travelers who want to take extra precautions can purchase default insurance for an extra \$6 to \$12 a ticket, says Campbell. But there is no cross-subsidy limits on the amount they will pay out if a major carrier or tour operator goes under.

What about Canadian Plus frequent flyer points? If the airline did shut down, they're gone," says Campbell. The points would not even be accepted by Canadian Airlines' frequent flyer partners—American Airlines, British Airways, Air New Zealand and Qantas Airways. But there are some options for Canadian Plus members, he adds. One is to use the points now. A lot of people are already doing that. Canadian has "been swamped" with redemption requests, says Campbell. For a fee, Canadian Plus points can be cashed in for other programs run by its partners. It may also be possible to purchase insurance for points. Pollin says that, to his knowledge, the only company offering such a service is Frequent Flyer Services Inc. of Colorado Springs, Colo., which charges \$161 a year for points insurance.

What will happen to Canadian Airlines routes if it stops flying? In Canada, others will likely fill the gap, says Ted Larkin, an analyst with Bunting-Warburg Inc. in Toronto. On domestic routes, there are no regulars leaving carriers from picking up or dropping routes, says Robert Greenblatt, a spokesman for Transport Canada. Airlines need only be licensed by the Canadian Transportation Agency, which requires an operating certificate, adequate insurance and must obtain Canadian ownership. In the case of international routes, carriers must apply to Transport Canada. But a carrier may apply for routes in a competitor's territory if the designated carrier is no longer operating or is "underutilizing" the route. If more than one carrier applies, Transport Canada makes its choice based on the best service proposal and the airline's track record.



Canadian Airlines counter in Calgary: uncertainty in the air

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he started one month ago, C.W. numbers weren't very useful to him. Hargrove said he has been laid off, says one: "But he's really pulled them together. It's been scary."

Even scarier to some is Hargrove's frenetic pace. He has thrown himself into the fray at Canadian jobs a week after concluding a previous—and moderately successful—round of bargaining with the Big Three car companies. But Hargrove's personal identity is inseparable from the C.W. and his vision for the union. Although he squanders at the occasional round of games, most of his time is spent on union business. In 1982, when he was elected the union's national president, Hargrove says he gave up parties to focus on the "very valuable, very political organization." Even his personal relationships revolve around the union movement. He met his first wife, Linda—they divorced in 1980 after 30 years of marriage—as a picket line, and eventually engaged a labor activist, with another woman who is also a labor activist.

Sometimes, he says, are a small price to pay for the opportunity to work in a field that he can enter as much a calling as a job. "The union binds the human family," says Hargrove, a self-described social democrat. "Society only has meaning if the people who need help, need a voice, act." Hargrove's voice has certainly become a familiar one in Canada. A longtime member of the New Democratic Party, he led the charge against the budget cuts and layoffs introduced by Bob Rae's cash-strapped Ontario NDP government in 1993. Hargrove accused Rae of betraying the labor movement when, as premier, he faced the responsibility of cutting collective agreements—and the C.W. withdrew support and funding from the Ontario NDP. That act helped bring about the party's humiliating 1995 election defeat. The open animosity between the two men surfaced again in Rae's recently published memoir, *From Protest to Power*, in which his descriptions of Hargrove are, more often than not, scathing.

But even as colorful politicians and corporate executives vilify him as a neoliberal extremist, Hargrove insists that he is pragmatic rather than confrontational. "I just respond to my environment," he says. "The business community has tried to isolate labor, to block us from having input. I'm responding to that." And he maintains that his style of union leadership is not, as his critics charge, autocratic or hard-headed. "I think I'm very consultative in my approach," he says. "We're a people organization. I don't hold private meetings—I keep my door open."

The son of 10 children, Hargrove was born in Bath, N.B., in 1946—and credits his Maritime childhood with shaping his strong sense of community and collectivity. "In Atlantic Canada there's a strong tradition of people relying on one another, helping each other out," he says. But at the same time, he was keenly aware of economic disparities in the community. "There were lots of rich farmers in the area—or they seemed that way," he recalls. "We weren't starving, but things were pretty tight all the time."

Hargrove's father, Percy, was a carpenter who worked in logging camps during the winter months. His mother, Ellen, grew potatoes to pay for the children's clothes. Their relationship was not an easy one—Hargrove's father was a staunch Tory, while his wife voted Liberal. Eventually, he moved his wife. They remarried when Hargrove was 11. At 16—Hargrove quit school after Grade 10—he left New Brunswick to look for work, drifting west, and from job to job, for two years. But in 1964, while on his way back to New Brunswick for a war, he stopped to see an older brother in Windsor, Ont. His

brother told him he was filling out job applications at the local auto plants. Within days, Chrysler Canada hired him as a maintenance man on the afternoon shift.

In those days, Canada's automotive industry was under the wing of the Detroit-based United Auto Workers. Hargrove had never before been a union member or, he says, given anyone a second thought. Still, he was impressed by Ken Conrad, the plant chairman for Local 444. Conrad had paid him to get right on the line making new castings—and he went. Hargrove wrote up the model and member.

In 1965, the year the Canada-U.S. Auto Pact was ratified, Hargrove was elected as shop steward at the Windsor plant. Around the same time, he joined the NDP and became increasingly involved in politics. "The NDP was an answer for me, for my character," he recalls. "I've always been ready to challenge the status quo." Even within the union movement. By 1978, Hargrove had risen in the ranks to become special assistant to Bob White, head of the Canadian branch of the UAW. It was a critical

Hargrove insists that he is not autocratic



Confronted by a disgruntled Canadian Airlines employee: "I keep my door open!"

role. The Chrysler Corporation was teetering on the edge of bankruptcy, and the crisis revealed widening cracks between the U.S. and Canadian divisions of the UAW over Canadian autonomy in bargaining, work stoppages and strike pay. Seven years later, White—with Hargrove at his side—led the break with the American union. They had no respect for Canadian unions, for the difference between our situations," Hargrove says.

Until White left the C.W. for the presidency of the Canadian Labor Congress in 1982, the two continued to work closely together. "Hargrove learned at the left arm of Bob White," notes NDP MP Nelson Allen, "and he's got maybe even more guts." Even now Hargrove says his favorite part of the job is the collective bargaining process. "When I don't enjoy that anymore, I'll be time to quit," he adds. For now, however, Hargrove is planning to run for reelection next August—regardless of victory. "I think that there's confidence in me, support of what I've done and want to do," he says. In some boardrooms of Canada, that cannot be welcome news.

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The Bottom Line

Solidarity forever?

As the drama played out over the past several weeks it became increasingly clear that Canadian Airlines is much more than just another cash-strapped company struggling to stay afloat. It's the flash point for many of the profound economic and social changes of the past several years. Its struggle for survival is wrapped up in the messy collision of deregulation, financial restructuring, employee ownership, corporate governance, minimalist government and the burgeoning services sector.

The interaction of these various elements is reflected in the bitter confrontation between the Canadian Auto Workers union—which represents 3,700 Canadian Airlines employees—and, on the other side of the table, corporate management and government.

Despite public pressure and the desperate pleas of the company, the union held out at allowing its members to co-optimize with the nation's request for wage cuts. Seeking to tradition and the union's collective agreement, CAW brass authoritatively blocked Canadian employees from voting directly on the company's proposal. Going even further, the union demanded government cash to bail out Canadian as well as re-regulation of the airline industry.

But times have changed. And even with a federal election on the horizon, Ottawa didn't blink. In the end, it did agree to "study" the condition of the domestic airline sector. But it refused to be bound by its findings. More significant, the federal government retreated against the CAW with an end run around its leaders, by ordering airline by union members on the restructuring plan. In the end, that hard line helped to end the bliffling and bring about a deal.

Predictably, however, there were howls of protest from labor. Union activists denounced the federal government's unprecedented intervention as a violation of union rights and a deliberate attempt to undermine union credibility.

Nevertheless, Ottawa's controversial move ultimately served the CAW's top priority: recruiting new members. It was a win on many counts. Had it been placed and the Canadian Airlines employees backed CAW leader Buzz Hargrove, it would have bolstered his image as a working-class hero. It would also have strengthened his hand within a contentious union. If the employees had voted against Hargrove and accepted wage cuts, he could then have blamed them for capitulation, and destroyed the CAW from the president of wage militants.

Hargrove's high public profile is a key ingredient in the CAW's continuing campaign to shape the corporate agenda. The labor movement's clout has eroded through the recession and restructuring of the 1990s. In that environment, any union intent on preserving its power must expand. One way to do that is to take tough stands on issues like wage cuts.

In fact, the competition for membership among unions has become increasingly fierce. The CAW and the United Steelworkers of America, for example, are aggressively vying to organize the 7,100 workers at the Delco steelworks in Hamilton.

The CAW is also treading for members in the booming services sector. It has already organized several Starbucks coffee outlets in Vancouver. And it plans to expand that campaign across Canada. But this move has its own problems—problems that may already be surfacing in the Canadian Airlines battle. It's tough to preserve solidarity when workers are terrified of losing their jobs. It's even harder when there is a cultural gap between the union and its new hires.

The CAW is a classic industrial union steeped in the lore of the shop floor. Airline ticket agents, however, aren't auto workers. They are on the ground, greater service sector. And they aren't seasoned strikers. Situations like that call for a different approach, a less confrontational style. That should include letting members vote directly in cases where their jobs, and their company's future, are on the line.



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Gauthier announcing his resignation—done so after nine months by his own choice

CANADA

Skating on thin ice

Ottawa's opposition parties are in disarray

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

The decor is nondescript, the coffee-scented of recirculated air and the corner—area the coffee-wrapped sandwiches—often lastless and barely digestible. But the ground-floor cafeteria in the West Block building on Parliament Hill, long the haunt of early rises in the federal government, has also been the epicentre of many political earthquakes. In the early 1980s, a group of Conservative MPs and hangovers sat there regularly to plot the overthrow of then-leader Joe Clark and the rise of his successor, Brian Mulroney. Later in the same decade, Liberal MPs, close to Jean Chretien gathered every morning to vent their antipathies with John Turner's leadership. Last week, the Carrière of the Carrière struck again. For one of the few times since their election in 1983, more than a dozen Bloc Québécois MPs showed up.

They gathered at three different tables gesturing excitedly and speaking in hushed tones. Shortly after an 8:30 a.m. caucus meeting, their emboldened leader Michel Gauthier requested.

Pellicani, as Chretien once quipped: "I'm made of this thrill when you skate on thin ice. You never know where there will be a hole." Those who skip are often pushed in Gauthier's case, as he acknowledged to reporters after resigning, the Bloc leader was driven from office by a divided caucus grown increasingly antipathetic with its own performance and prospects for re-election. His departure—only nine months after he reluctantly took the job—quarantined just how widely the profession of politics now sees sources those perceived as losers.

It has seldom been easy to be an opposition politician but it may never have been harder, or more frustrating, than it is in Ottawa today. With a general election appearing likely this spring, according to Liberal

sources, nothing seems to dent Prime Minister Chretien's remarkable and enduring popularity. His government has sailed through controversies on everything from the Goods and Services Tax to the near loss of the Quebec referendum—and still its popularity in the polls stands at well over 50 per cent.

Part of the reason is that Chretien, with his combination of modest manner and relentless charm, has done so in three decades in elected politics, has disarmed opposition attacks with the ease of an experienced boxer. And neither of the two principal opposition parties, the Bloc and the Reform party, has a pan Canadian voice: the Bloc speaks only for Quebec, while Reform has only recent roots in Manitoba. Then there are the growing pains of two parties that had no official voice in the House of Commons before 1985. Only one Reform MP, Deborah Grey, has any previous experience in Parliament; and only five Bloc MPs were not rookies when they were elected in the same year. That inexperience has led to public gaffes and private frustration each party. At the same time, as a series of budget cuts and shrinking government services, Canadians have less direct interest in policy than they once had—and a much higher degree of cynicism.

In the past, political leaders could lose several elections before their followers became seriously restless. Former Conservative leader Robert Stanfield, for example, lost three elections in his sleeping down, while New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent lost four. By contrast, Gauthier did not even contest one. But he has been to resign one in the wake of public opinion polls that showed the Bloc's popularity dropping. Other polls showed that many Quebecers could identify the unassuming English-French Montrealer Jean Gauthier.

But for political success it may be better for a leader to be unknown than beloved. Despite Gauthier's low profile, the Bloc's support is still within five points of its peak under Lucien Bouchard, and most political analysts in Quebec say the party is actually on track to win at least 40 of Quebec's 75 seats in the next election. Similarly, New Democratic Party Leader Alexa McDonough passes largely unnoticed, but her party is presently at its highest standing in the polls since the 1988 election.

By contrast, Manning is well-known—perhaps too well. He is a staple for one cause on his television program, but his party has lost popularity since it was in 1983. Ditto for Progressive Conservative Leader Jean Charest, who is recognized everywhere. In his own province of Quebec, though, that is unlikely to translate into any electoral gains. A senior Tory organizer in Montreal said last week that the party will "consider it a miracle if we win anything more than Jean's own seat here in the next election."

But Manning and Charest both have a weapon that Gauthier lacks: absolute control over their parties. In Charest's case, he is well liked by rank-and-file members—and so are close of sufficient profile waste the job. Manning, whose reserved private manner has made him less close friends in the party, is nonetheless respected for his calm and leading bankers and shaping the party's policies. Said a Tory party insider in the next election, says Bloc Reform MP Keith Martin: "The leadership will be up for review immediately by an election about it."

The reality in the Bloc's Gauthier does not go to the point, as when the going gets tough, the tough need to ride herd on their caucus. But the consequences Gauthier tried to inspire either fear or affection among caucus colleagues. Some members chastised that the leader, who represents the rural riding of Riverview, was so out of touch in Montreal that he wouldn't know how to find St. Catherine Street (the city's busiest thoroughfare). Others privately described him as unwilling to put in the hours necessary for the job. Some were baffled by his English, made fun of his poor English

"To do a proper job of leading the Bloc, it is essential to be fluent in English in order to communicate with the rest of Canada, and to be comfortable around Montreal," said Cordia University political scientist Guy Lachapelle, who has close ties with the governing movement. "Gauthier had neither."

The list of those who may succeed Gauthier now includes people with those qualities, as well as a sufficiently high public profile to attract interest. Some of the potential candidates include sitting Bloc MPs Gilles Duceppe and François Lalonde, and Bloc strategist and constitutional lawyer Daniel Turp. Of these, Turp is the candidate that the rest of the country would likely find the



Days 'reflecting' on whether to go for the job

most palatable. An elegant 41-year-old, the University of Montreal professor knows how his lies in Westminster, as married to an anglophone from Alberta and speaks almost flawless English. Turp said Montreal's last week that he is "reflecting long and hard" about whether to run, but close friends suggest that he will. Other potential candidates include former lieutenant Tony Colton minister Marcel Masse, whose conversion to anglicanism came only after his party lost the last election.

A long shot, but the most interesting possibility is former Quebec premier Jacques

Parsons. Some friends say Parsons is tempted by the job. As leader of the Bloc, he would become a leader for both sides: someone who doesn't want to keep any ties with the rest of Canada and suspect Bouchard of being a closet federalist. In addition, Parsons's exposure of social-democratic principles puts him further at odds with Bouchard, who is pursuing a conservative fiscal agenda that cuts social spending. Some friends with close ties to Bouchard and the Quebec premier "are basically horrified" by the possibility of a Parsons candidacy.

Many of the elements that fuelled discontent among Bloc members will strike a responsive chord among politicians of all stripes. Unlike a member of the governing party, an opposition MP cannot hope for elevation to cabinet or play a direct role in the formation of policy. "As an opposition MP, we have influence, but we have no power," says Edouard-jean MP Ian MacGillivray of the Reform party.

Another frustration for opposition MPs is that they can only hope to see their ideas implemented if the next years of the government. Liberals adopt them. That, argues Reform MP Stephen Harper, is precisely what has happened in such areas of Reform: concern as deficit reduction, a tougher stance on crime and new controls on immigration. "Success in one case depends on the government taking over your political agenda," says Harper.

Harper, 37, who decided not to run for re-election after the birth of a son this year, says that many politicians are increasingly aware of the limitations their profession places on the rest of their lives. "To be 35 and have four years of elected politics behind you is not a good thing," says Harper. "To be 47 and have 15 years behind you is not a lot of what you learn in politics is simply useless information for other fields."

That may be seen reason why almost a quarter of both the Bloc and Reform caucus are not planning to run for re-election. Few people want to make a career of a profession that isolates so much cynicism. "I came to Ottawa with very few illusions, and I leave with that unchanged," says Harper dryly. That frustration on the opposition side is obvious by good news for the Liberals, and Chretien informed of Gauthier's resignation last week, the Prime Minister initially responded casually by saying it was "sorry" for him, but then added: "It's a party that has its third leader in one year is generally good for the other parties." The unglaring within the Bloc and Reform parties brings to mind a popular maxim in the Middle East—that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. By that measure, the Liberals presently have all the friends they need on the opposition benches.

With LARRY KESSLER in Ottawa



Krummerfeld (left) and Tarnowsky: friends say they disagreed about the case

CANADA

'We killed this chick'

A Regina murder trial has racial undercurrents

Each day, the families take their places in a Regina courtroom. In the front row, on one side of the aisle, sit the mother and sister of Pamela George, a 28-year-old native woman and sometime prostitute whose badly beaten body was found face down in a roadside ditch in April 1995. A few feet over, taking the first two rows on the other side of the aisle, are the relatives of Steven Krummerfeld and Alex Tarnowsky, two white, middle-class 20-somethings who have pleaded not guilty to charges of first-degree murder in relation to George's death. The families of the victim and accused sit silently, staring straight ahead, looking away from the testimony, their glances never meeting. Even during breaks in the trial, they pass each other in the hallway without a trace of acknowledgment.

In many ways, the distance maintained between these two camps is symbolic of the case itself—one that went to court Nov. 13 and that, from the outset, has been marked by strong racial undercurrents. Some of the most damning testimony against the accused has come from friends and acquaintances who said the two spoke openly about hating black people. Tyler Stuart, a friend of both men, told the court that the day after George's murder he asked Krummerfeld what he had done the night before. "Not much," Stuart quoted Krummerfeld as say-

ing, "We drove around, not drink and killed this chick." Stuart added that, shortly after the murder, he spoke on the phone with Tarnowsky. According to Stuart, a drunken Tarnowsky told him: "She deserved it. She was Indian."

Even there were two sequential stories

that are socially and economically disconnected, it is the worlds in which George and her two alleged assailants lived. Born on the Reserve, 140 km east of Regina, George left school before completing Grade 9 and came to the city where, like many in the people, she lived a life on the edge of poverty, violence and desperation. A single mother while still a teenager, George, told a two-year-old son in a 1989 drawing incident, she moved back and forth between the city and the reserve, while her mother helped to raise her two other children. "She was the dog type," his George, the mother of six children, says of her eldest daughter

Breaking the silence on Osborne

The families are shaking. Helen Betty Osborne, a 19-year-old native woman, was abducted from the streets of The Pas in 1971 by a group of young men, driven outside the northern Manitoba community, sexually assaulted and brutally murdered. Pamela George, a 28-year-old native, was allegedly picked up in a Regina street in April, 1995, driven outside the city, sexually assaulted and then beaten to death. In both cases, two young white men were charged with the murders. Eventually, Dwayne Arden Johnson was convicted of Osborne's murder and James Houghton acquitted. In Regina, the first-degree murder trial of Steven Krummerfeld and Alex Tarnowsky in the George case is entering its final stages. But aside from the obvious

similarities, there is at least one critical difference: it took 16 years before anyone was arrested in the Osborne murder, while charges in the George case were laid less than a month after the crime.

Although talk was rampant in The Pas about who was responsible for Osborne's death, the RCMP was stymied by what many termed a "conspiracy of silence" when no one would come forward with information. It was not until Les Colgan, who was with Johnson and Houghton on the night of the murder, was granted immunity for his testimony, that police laid charges in 1987—resulting in Johnson's conviction last year. A fourth man, Norm Manger, was deemed by the prosecution too drunk to have participated in the crime and never charged. Stung by criticism of how the case was handled, the Manitoba government ordered a judicial inquiry into the Osborne case and how the justice system treats native people in

"her love was to do drinks, drawings and to write poems." Eventually, Pamela turned to prostitution as a means of supporting her two daughters. "It was kind of hard to talk about Pamela," says her mother, a widowed woman of 67, whose lined face reflects the difficulty and sorrow of her own life. "I'd was here to be careful and she would always tell me that she could take care of herself."

While Pamela George struggled, Krummerfeld and Tarnowsky—who were friends throughout their high-school years in Regina—appeared to lead charmed lives. At the University of Regina, Krummerfeld, the grandson of a former NDP cabinet minister, starred for the university basketball team. Tarnowsky, meanwhile, moved to Prince George with his family and enrolled in a graduate arts and sciences program at the University of Northern British Columbia, where his father had accepted a teaching position. On the Easter long weekend in 1995, he returned to his home town to party with his friends, one of whom being Krummerfeld.

Among other witnesses, the court heard from a provincial who was watching the streets on the night of the murder. She testified that she had refused to get into a car with two obviously intoxicated young white males. "The woman told that, a short time later, she saw one of the two back in the truck. The Crown maintains that George was forced into the car and driven just west of the city. Prosecutors say evidence from the

crime scene indicates she panicked after the car stopped on a deserted road and saw all the accused around the truck as it left his accomplice out. After being forced to have sex, the Crown says that George attempted to flee but was caught by Krummerfeld and Tarnowsky, who beat the woman and left her dying in a muddy ditch. The prosecution concluded its case last week with four hours and 10A evidence from George that was obtained from the car already driven by the two accused. "The defence, which is in possession of this case, is expected to bring forward evidence that will try to link the murder to another man, Edwin Lloyd Isaac, who police questioned about the murder on her last day of life," said in March.

At one point in the trial, a group of 25 people, many of them native, held a vigil outside the courtroom in memory of George and in support of her family. At the same time, the accused have received protective custody in jail where the majority of the inmates are native. Barry Anderson, a University of Regina sociology professor specializing in criminal justice, says the story of the case and does not believe the second and the third have attracted the public's attention. "Let's suppose this person was killed by another native—I don't think there would be the same interest in the case," says Anderson. A said testimony—but one that would likely come in the surprise to many native people.

DALE ERSKIN is in Regina



Osborne, reviewing new evidence

that province. And how after refusing to testify at his own trial or to answer questions at the preliminary inquiry, Johnson is finally breaking his silence. Hoping for early release from his medium-security prison near Winnipeg, where he is serving a life sentence with no eligibility for parole for 10 years, Johnson recently told the RCMP and members of Osborne's family that he did not kill Osborne—and named the person he says was responsible for her death. Johnson claims Osborne died after being beaten by one man and that he and the others then stabbed her 56 times with a screwdriver to make it appear she had been murdered by a "berserk" individual. Manitoba's chief medical examiner, Peter Merkley, said last week that Osborne's autopsy report will be reviewed to deter-

mine if the dead before being stabbed. The RCMP said they will review Johnson's testimony and decide if any new charges are warranted. By comparison, the

George case was a textbook example of the public watching police with information that led to a quick arrest. According to police sources, a key break occurred when a friend of the two accused came forward with information about the murder after speaking to the suspects. That turn of events is applauded by Del Anauad, an aboriginal teacher at the University of Regina. "If it was their friends who went to the police, I have to admire them," says Anauad. The same cannot be said of those who, for years, kept silent about the death of Helen Betty Osborne.

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Manitoba Liquor Control Commission - Liquor Mart Magazine insert Maclean's Magazine December 2, 1996 issue

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We regret any inconvenience this error may have caused.

A flood's aftermath

Five months on, the Saguenay is still reeling

BY ISRENDIA BRANSWELL

A strict enforcement of the law is strictly forbidden—hardly the sort of sign to attract customers. For months, that sign warning, posted on a makeshift safety fence, stood near the entrance to Wyssac's Jean-Lucien Tremblay's shoe store. His family had operated their Chicoutimi shop without incident for three generations. Then, in July, the rain-swollen Chicoutimi River spilled its banks, devastating parts of the city of 63,000 people. Tremblay's shop was in the hardest-hit area, now a Trenching of Ash is one of the few businesses on the street still operating. Photographs of the damage caused by the flood, displayed in his window, seem superfluous. Reminders of the river's destructive power, including wrecked buildings, raised roads and empty shops, lie just down the street. Tremblay himself had 600 pairs of water boots raised in the flood, and estimates his losses at \$33,000. But, he says, "We're not going to give up and die—we will continue."

The safety fence by Tremblay's store—and the sign—have now been taken down. But as winter settles in on the Saguenay, five months after the deluge, residents of Chicoutimi and other hard-hit towns are still reeling from one of the worst natural disasters ever to strike Canada. The region's western half was swept away and above about 26,000 from their homes, and many continue to live in the huts of temporary accommodations. Parts of the infrastructure remain in ruins—and rebuilding is a slow and daunting process. Officials in the region, 300 km north of Quebec City, estimate that getting it back to normal will take at least two years. For some residents, things are moving slowly. Tremblay says he had to push city hall to re-install street lights in front of his store in November. Before that, he says, it was "dark like a forest." And, he claims, the slow administrative response to the flood constitutes a "second disaster."

But about half the flood victims have received compensation—and Quebec officials defend their record. "I think this aid is fast,

houses destroyed by the flood. Desjardins Ous and her husband Michel Stuard are among those claiming the compensation they received for their home in Bousdon, a small village 60 km east of Chicoutimi. After the flood wrecked it, they spent three weeks at the Sagoville military base. Then, in early November, they lived at a summer cottage loaned to them by the village of Bousdon. Now the couple has settled

into a new, \$120,000 two-story house—but they are not cashing. They received \$20,000, less than half the insured value of their wrecked home—forcing them to dig into their retirement savings. "We're starting over," says Ous, a 49-year-old secretary. "Our old house was paid for—our retirement was already prepared."

Others have had better luck. Céline Giguère's apartment in La Baie, just outside Chicoutimi, was destroyed by the flood. After finding shelter at the military base, then living with her niece, Giguère, 45, moved into a new, surprisingly scheduled town house in October. "We received a lot of financial help," says Giguère, sitting at her new kitchen table. Her furnishings—the couch with the floral pattern, the television set, even the appliances—ending from a mobile. "I moved out," she says, are all freshly bought with \$15,000 in government aid. Even so, Giguère, like others, finds the adjustment difficult. The abrupt change, she usually says is "sad to get used to."

Still, the Saguenay's hardships brought out the best in Canadians, who responded with an outpouring of financial aid. The result: a \$20-million emergency relief fund that the Canadian Red Cross is now distributing through a voucher system that allows recipients to buy clothes, household supplies and other items. At the time of the disaster, some federalists privately expressed hope that the response

might persuade people in the Saguenay—traditionally the separatist heartland of Quebec—to re-examine their political beliefs. But many in the region shared that opinion. "The aid," says Michel Boivin, a spokesperson for the city of La Baie, "was seen as an act of generosity. People said, 'If that ever happens elsewhere, in Quebec we hope to do the same thing.'"

Some charitable acts may have helped bridge cultural, if not political, divides. Warren Valley, 47, a bilingual anglophone water treatment specialist from Ontario, travelled



Tremblay: 'We're not going to give up and die'



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Foodwaters in Chicoutimi and from Chicoutimi has failed to deal with excess symptoms

to the Saguenay. In October at his own expense to help residents rebuild. "I'm glad I own," Valley said, shaking from the winter chill inside the Bellefleur house of Pierre Gagnon and Johanne Hébert. Construction, Hébert acknowledged, was difficult—the only villager to speak any English. But, said Gagnon, who has been in Chicoutimi Valley as they rebuilt a backdrop shed. "It's quite something that a region that's completely devastated to give this help."

Valley's spouse—he recently returned to his Ottawa home—may yet find a place in the region's flood psychology. Other events already have. In La Baie, store owner Kelley Chénier gave out photographs of a statue of the Sacred Heart. As the waters rose, he placed the Blessed in his store in front of his property. It remains, he says, his only explanation for how foodwaters bypassed his store and adjacent home while sweeping away neighboring buildings.

Then there are the stories of personal property recovered from the wreckage. In St-Roch-de-Nord, for instance, someone found a laminated family photograph, recognized the people and called them—88 km away in Chicoutimi. There were also the rats of La Baie, scurrying out of the wrapped seaweed. "People told us they were afraid to go out at night," says François Marceau, a spokesman for the provincial government's reconstruction office.

In the weeks following the disaster, some residents expressed the hope that the rebuilding effort might boost the region's ailing economy. That has not been the case.

While noting that construction temporarily increases employment, Bouchard of La Baie says the Saguenay "isn't getting wealthier—what we're doing is simply replacing what we lost." Still, the flood has presented some surprising openings. Solange Martin of Chicoutimi says that, beginning in August, tour buses began passing by her home several times a day, carrying the curious to view the damage. Hearing the knock of opportunity, Martin hung photographs of the disaster on her balcony and sold them to tourists. Business, she reports, was "incredible." On a recent break water day, Martin was still clipping pictures to her porch—although she plans to call a realtor to sell them.

For now "if there's a demand next summer," she says, "we'll certainly take it up again." Could some of the damage have been averted? A government-appointed commission is now examining the possible role of the area's vast network of dams and dikes in the disaster, and is expected to complete its report by June 15. Meanwhile, the role of river flooding remains. The disaster changed the course of some rivers, and has increased the possibility of future ones. "They're no longer the same rivers," says Marceau. "We don't know what will happen." Residents, meanwhile, long ahead with their lives. "We have to live strength of character," Tremblay chuckles in his shirt state. "Because we have every reason to give up." It is a fairly rare day in the Saguenay where—and it is something they will need on the long road back to recovery. □

The region may face further flooding

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Canada NOTES

VULNERABLE SENIORS

An "astounding" 40 per cent of women over 70 live in poverty and are in such frail health they are unable to properly care for themselves, says a report based on Statistics Canada data from the 1991 census. That finding, and others, "should give pause to Budget cutters who assume there is no longer an economically vulnerable elderly population," adds the study, written by two professors at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.

COMING TO TERMS

Newfoundlander reached an out-of-court settlement with one of the men abducted by Christian Brothers at the Mount Cashel orphanage. A similar offer is expected to be accepted by 30 other victims. The province hopes to recap the payout—reportedly worth up to \$15 million—from the Christian Brothers and the Catholic Church.

'FLEXIBLE FEDERALISM'

Ontario will hand over \$317 million over three years to the Alberta government under a deal that gives the province control over job training and counselling for the unemployed. Federal Human Resources Minister Pierre Pettigrew said the agreement signals a new age of "flexible federalism."

SPIRALLING DEFICITS

BC Finance Minister Andrew Potter revealed that the NDP government has ended again in the deficit projections for 1995-1996. Last June, Potter predicted a \$16-million surplus, but less than a week later concluded there would be a \$235-million deficit. Now, blaming declining corporate taxes and welfare payments dispute with Ottawa, he says it will hit \$305-million.

DISTINCTLY LIBERAL

The Quebec Liberal party announced its intention to adopt "distinct society" as part of its new constitutional position. Unlike past proposals, this one does not call for a massive transfer of federal powers to Quebec.

CBC SERVICE OFF THE AIR

The CBC announced that its international shortwave radio service will enter operating on March 31, when the federal government ends its annual commitment to fund Radio Canada International's budget shortfall.

Bouchard's showdown with labor

I could have been a lot worse. As it was, Quebec Premier Jacques Bouchard managed to win as much needed, though possibly brief, reprieve from public-sector union leaders angered by the government's determination to trim \$1.4 billion from its payroll. Faced with the threat of a massive strike without by labor groups across the province, Bouchard convened a meeting with leaders of six unions representing 400,000 teachers, health care workers, civil servants and other public employees. "The PQ's position was rigid before," Robert Caron, spokesman for government trade-unionists, said after the five-hour meeting. "Now there's a possibility to discuss what's on the table."

The unions are upset by Bouchard's proposal for changing the government's \$20-billion public-sector payroll by about seven per cent. To avoid laying off as many as 25,000 workers, Bouchard says that he wants to cut



Bouchard: cutting \$1.4 billion

the work week to 32 hours from 35, but workers' pay will remain the same because the government will reduce their contributions to union pension funds. Labor leaders contend that their members would only be hurting the mothers by accepting such an offer.

Last week's meeting with Bouchard ended with union leaders agreeing to meet with their executive to obtain a mandate to begin intensive negotiations. Bouchard, meanwhile, wants a deal by Christmas. "We're keeping that line brief," he said. If an agreement cannot be reached, the PQ leader has not ruled out the possibility of a special law to impose one.

Particularly galling to the unions is that the PQ wants to respect a three-year contract it signed with its employees in 1993, which included a one-per-cent raise. That stiffened came at a time when the PQ was trying to gain support for its referendum campaign on taking Quebec out of Canada.

IMMIGRATION

The passport scam

Authorities in the Netherlands and Canada say they have shut down a rickshaw smuggling ring which has allowed up to 5,000 people—mostly immigrants—to enter Canada illegally over the past few years. The rickshaw men, mostly people from the Netherlands, where they charged them as much as \$10,000 each for round Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Israeli or Canadian passports and phone tickets to Canada. Upon arrival, the illegal immigrants claimed refugee status and, as reflected by their kind of status, refused to give Canadian authorities details of their voyage. Police and prosecutors in the Netherlands have pursued the ring since last January and have made 40 arrests in a case that has caused a public uproar in Holland. The RCMP says it began working on the case a month ago and that two immigrants in Toronto have been charged with conspiring to smuggle immigrants.

Chrétien under attack

Was it sleazy politics? The answer likely depends on the political stance of the beholder. Still, what is clear is that Conservative Senator Margery LeBreton's claim that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien is a bar struck a sensitive chord among Liberals. In a speech to a Tory breakfast club audience in Ottawa, LeBreton said Chrétien deserves Canadians with the "Furrowed Gump act" and does not deserve his reputation as a "sleazy" politician. The senator, who served as Jean Mulroney's patronage clerk, recalled Chrétien's alleged remark to Montreal high-school students in October that he occasionally chatted with homeless people about their problems. The Prime Minister later admitted he hadn't spoken to any homeless people since taking power. "There used to be a time when we called that lying," LeBreton said. "That he led to easily impressed young people is even more revealing." She also accused Chrétien's wife, Alice, of being to follow the example of Milla Mahoney, who did "extensive charity work." Dismissing himself from LeBreton's remarks, Tory leader Jean Charest said, "I don't believe in personalizing politics." Peter Donolo, a spokesman for the Prime Minister, denounced LeBreton's resignation from the Conservative cabinet committee. "This is the worst kind of sleazy, personal attacks they used in the last campaign," he said.

The trouble with aid

BY BRUCE WALLACE

Luxury four-wheel drives are standard issue in the international aid game, so it is no surprise to see dozens of white Land Cruisers parked bumper to bumper in front of George's Meridien hotel like horses tethered to a hitching post in some postmodern western. The frontier image fits. After all, this lonely island sits on the Rwandan border in the latest outpost for international aid workers, the rare landscape just behind the front line of the refugee crisis in eastern Zaire. It is a town where most Rwandans go about their business on foot and the heavy traffic of four-wheel drives must seem like an alien invasion—although George's can fill potholes so deep enough to swallow a lesser vehicle.

But for a few days during this warm November, George's will under the strains of the Western world's Rwanda's refugees and their biblical trick home are the international story of the moment, confirmed by the numerous satellite broadcast dishes flowing out along the town's main hotel, their nerves of cable trailing across the grassy courtyard and along powerlines humming around the clock. The concentration of media, aid workers and harried diplomats has temporarily made George's and the cross-border city of Goma, Zaire, the world's best-known fault lines. Their street scenes are projected into comfortable living rooms across the globe. They are the latest stop in the decade's world tour of humanitarian disasters: Kurdistan, '91, Somalia, '90, Rwanda, '94, Liberia, '93.

This time it's back to Rwanda, and the aid agencies are well prepared for the flip of international interest. All the big aid organizations—as well as some with newly minted identities that are eager to make a reputation—are represented in George's: their sleek logos displayed on T-shirts, tents and trucks. There are the superpowers of the movement such as CARE, Christian Aid and the Red Cross; the United Nations agencies that are so often mocked by the adrift for their Caidi-bi working conditions; Ireland's gutsy and re-



Shanks at Mnyanga camp Rwanda refugees at an MSF hospital (right) coverage

spected Concern, newcomer like Britain's Merlin, and of course, the cowboys of the emergency aid movement: Doctors Without Borders. The "without borders" phenomenon continues to morph into new fields. There are now Humanists Without Borders, Lawyers Without Borders, and so on, as close to parody that when a particularly stylish blond strides through the hotel bar, someone jokes that Supermodels Without Borders have arrived in Rwanda.

But the business at hand is serious. There have been apocalyptic warnings that if tens of thousands of people could die on the other side of the Zairean rebel lines. Some are from Doctors Without Borders (first known by its original French acronym MSF for *Médecine Sans Frontières*) have predicted that 20,000 people a week could die from cholera. The aid groups are well rehearsed at the



The heroes of the world's war zones face growing criticism

emergency drill by now. They can move entire field hospitals from Europe to Africa overnight, and they are well at installing enormous fresh water bladders in areas where field water threatens to spread cholera. These days, they are also likely to fly in their media-friendly spokespersons, who are not above getting in a dig or two at other agencies. The spokeswoman from MSF, for example, happily lambastes the United Nations for its inefficiency (all the emergency relief organizations, or NGOs, are supposed to share duties for the United Nations), and slams other groups for their "insane" conduct over the past two years in the Zairean refugee camps.

Welcome to the booming, competitive, dirty and often heroic culture of emergency relief. These days it is an industry looking in its height and profile—and beset by an accustomed criticism. Aid workers were once undisputed angels of charity at every disaster scene, bravely getting food and medicine through to civilian victims of war or famine and shouldering the messy relief chores that governments seem happy to hand off. They continue to provide numerous profiles in courage. Canadian surgeon Chris Gensson has devoted his life to aiding the afflicted in the world's war zones. Lone American doctor Ronald Dierwechter kept Haiti's ghostly hospital open during the height of Somalia's 1992 war and famine, operating by flashlight. Last week, the agencies were gearing up for new efforts in Zaire after an MSF official reported that thousands of refugees, many in poor condition, were trickling westward in a vast column, having fled the border war zone weeks earlier. "I can't imagine doing a run-of-the-mill family practice after this," says Dr. Leslie Shanks, a 33-year-old Canadian working with MSF in Zaire. "At home, the shouting and shuffling sounds horrible, but here you just deal with it."

But emergency relief is an unregulated business, and the past few years have also seen an explosion in the number of new groups. Where a major disaster might once have attracted 40 or so relief agencies, the number working in Rwanda topped 200. Aid workers acknowledge that many of these agencies, swelled by the number of rushing into a crisis to "save lives," dispense salvation with fluctuating degrees of competence. In some cases, they say, poor treatment has cost lives. A report into the 1994 Rwandan emergency commissioned by a wide range of aid groups and donors declared that "it is unacceptable that as NGOs with little or no relevant experience are able to send personnel to a relief operation, provide unacceptable poor standards of service and care, and then leave without any recourse." Such behavior, the report pointed out, "would not be tolerated in Western countries where many of the NGOs in question are based."

Humanitarians also have the potential to complicate political solutions to a crisis. Conflicts in the 1990s are increasingly within—rather than between—states, with civil society often descending into near anarchy and combatants operating within civilian enclaves. Victims are often indistinguishable from civilians. And where loading out humanitarian aid was once a neutral act, choosing who gets to receive can now be a very political one. Some critics even accuse aid agencies of outwitting conflicts, because the food, water and medicine is sometimes given to "bused" or mobile enclaves by warring factions, helping them to fight on.

Aid workers hotly debate these emerging controversies among themselves. But other than to draft voluntary codes of conduct, the humanitarian agencies have no answers to the question of whether their front line to the world wars has become hot all. Meanwhile, an emergency relief captures a larger share of the First World's shrinking aid budgets, few pass up the chance to show their logos at a major

disaster. While total governmental aid spending by rich countries has fallen by 9.3 percent since 2004, to \$52 billion, spending on emergency relief has multiplied fourfold in the decade to more than \$6 billion. That emphasis on the crisis at the moment, and the need to aid more and more to private donors, creates a vacuum for everyone else to fill. "We have more money, but we're not going to the scene to see in a bag themselves a 'field presence,'" it also accounts for the high number of all groups choosing to focus on disaster relief activities such as orphanages, rather than less glamorous tasks like sanitation. "There is less funding, so there's more competition," says Christine Stewart, Canada's secretary of state for Latin America and the Caribbean. "We're not the only one in the development field. And that's why you get this high concentration in disaster areas."

But Alex de Waal of the human rights group Africa Rights calls it "the obscene leveling of humanitarianism," where "angels don't come called to be present in front of the TV cameras," whatever the ethics or consequences. De Waal and a chorus of others argue that there are times where emergency aid does more harm than good. And when that is the case, they contend, the angels of mercy must fold up their wings and walk away.

Ernie Shonits has a new, elevated gastro on a mountainide above Grumpy, affording against Lake Waik's chuffy writers and the azure haze of Zane's hills and welcome beyond the far shore. Many of what the United Nations estimates to be 32 million Rwandan refugees are in these hills, hunkered down in the less lofty known as the Muganyu camp. But Shonits and her MSR colleagues cannot get out there. They are stuck by a rebel army that still has unbroken loyalties with the Hutu. So for the next few days, the rebels will wait for the UN to find her in a Muganyu, knee-deep in silt, wounded, crying out as peaceful as a sleepy natter afternoon on home town of Barrie. Oni and Shonits have a way her business is changing.

"Look, there are a lot of people who do this as a job at home, or at least they can't get an employer to pay the outcriouslunny productivity they're capable of," says the outspoken lunny productivity man. "Over here, people in their 20s are in better positions to manage huge budgets, but they're not. That's because many native idealists in 'Nobody cares here to help the poor and the old and I'm so tired of people asking me, 'How are you?' This work. We like the lifestyle. It's a culture difficult with my friends in Canada when I don't follow what goes on in these places. People in this business sign on for passion at their first year and can't go home."

Starks traces her own drive to do relief work back to a church group exchange in Central America as a teenager, when she recalls leaving that "giving people was no longer the biggest thing in your life once you had been in places without running water." But as she



killers, to keep the streets in fighting order. This tactic was amplified in 1992, when gangs were controlled by the state. Many soldiers and freedom fighters who attacked guerrillas against Rwanda's Tutsis, and who continued to launch guerrilla attacks on Rwandan towns across the border from the camp sanctuaries. But in camps that bristled with intimidation, and groups continuously decided to distribute food and medicine through those same leaders. After several months, MSF pulled out of Mpororo, protesting fully against other agencies' willingness to co-operate with killers.

MSF seems to have a heads for an ageing other organizations. The work was once the preserve of British organizations like Save the Children and Oxfam, which came out of the world wars or church groups doing missionary work. But secular agencies like MSF began to emerge at the end of the 1960s, especially following the Biafran crisis 27 years ago, which spawned both MSF and Ireland's Concern Worldwide, both of whom Concern once called the "infant, British tradition of religious mission." MSF likes to describe its place in against everyone's wish or local officials with the blessing of the message that groups which claim to be all local protocols. MSF's behavior, says one "disrespectfully pro-British".

If Bob Geldof's 1985 Live Aid concert became an epiphany by revealing the celebrity appeal of relief work, the Karlish crisis following the 1995 Gulf War made a sea change in the industry's philosophy.

end up doing emergency work on different impulses. "I cried when I saw the misery on TV when I was younger, and I always had it in my head to get into the action," says Montreal's Catherine Tellefsen, 33, who has done relief work for 10 years and managed the CARE Canada camp in Laos. Zare and the war came to his life "I do the work, but I'm not a disaster man. Zare what? And you get lower and lower people caring in thinking that they will be sponsored for business." In fact, "there are many different ways to reach Korea," says Roland Seifert, a 48-year-old Swiss who has been on the front lines

with the International Committee of the Red Cross since 1985. "Some people are altruistic. Some want to do something positive with their lives. But I'm not so sure that these gestures don't do more for the person who is doing the giving than for the refugee who is receiving."

Certainly the recipients of aid seem to pay little attention to the brutal competition between various agencies. Studies have found that Rwanda's refugees, for example, generally lumped all assistance received as coming from "the Red Cross." This lack of differentiation can hamper aid workers in the field. Some impostors have benefited that when their cohorts are confronted by soldiers demanding a percentage of the food or medicine as the price of crossing a checkpoint, they will pay the "aid" fee.¹⁰ The Red Cross, however, refuses. "Try convincing some kid with a gun that you're not like those other agencies that say," says Dr. Crow's brother, "if you're young, they'll let you go; if you're old, they'll kill you." They don't. But it does mean the night is long, policy and procedure are more important than compassion, and the aid workers must wait what they want. And even then there are another checkpoint, 200 m down the road where those soldiers are making their own rules, too. It's not far from here we have a high turnover of workers.

The "diversion" of aid is not a completely new phenomenon. Some food and medicine with aid markings have always shown up for sale outside the refugee camps where they had been delivered. But the systematic pilfering of supplies by armies caused alarm in Somalia, where many UN peacekeepers questioned whether aid was needed.

A little less than two months ago, 10 trucks loaded with crates sailed up to a former girls' boarding school in Nowe Kiejskie, a village 25 km south of Gdansk. The capital of embattled Chechnya. Inside the crates were the supplies and equipment for an International Red Cross field hospital—an \$1.5-million gift from Norway. Only four days later, says Rema-ben-De, Chechens gunned the hospital down with machine guns, the "biggest and the first operation." People are still in the don't mess with a nice, comfortable life," says the chain-smoking Genuis. "Well, I like what I do."

What he has done for most of his adult life is practice medicine amid war's chaos. Inspired while growing up by the devotion of healers like Albert Schweitzer and Norman Bethune, he says, he "wanted to be a doctor and work in Third World countries." He

Those were the incipient early days of the New World Order, says Angela Pinnock, policy director at Save the Children in London, "and there was a genuine belief that we in the West now had a right to intervene." Suddenly, MSF-style attitudes were mainstream. "They have a different ethos," Pinnock says. "On the Continent, humanitarianism is regarded as a political ideology, and suddenly there were all the young people rushing in with a genuine belief that only by people making that you can achieve sovereign states."

At their peril — at the time of the 1994 Rwandan crisis, with newly-minted agencies arriving by the plane-load, the industry bordered on a bit of chaos. "It was an incredible chaos in 1994," says Steward. "Once the pictures hit television, people were pouring in. Agencies would send dispatches in without any backup, no-car, and often without a job to do." Several ad groups likewise relayed the Rwandan government's insistence that they register, and were subsequently launched out of the country. "Just because you dislike a government is no reason to disregard that government," says Canada's Steward, who has been on both sides of the fence. "NGOs have to grapple with whether they're really on side with civil society."

Correspondingly, a backlash against the ad workers' white-hot image emerged. News-stand readers in Girona were marked by new-lined hostility and tough questioning, especially when the returning refugees did not seem to be dying at anywhere near the rate predicted by the relief agencies.

And yet, in all these desperate ends of the earth, it is the aid workers alone who clean the wounds, feed hungry mothers, and try to reassemble lost children with their parents. "Sure there's some overlap between NGOs, but that's really," snags CARE's Taillefer. "In the field, we do a good job." Shanks agrees. "We can sit around and debate: should we stay or should we go, but in the end we're health-care workers," she says in Myanmar's crowded hospital. "And in these cases, we look after the most vulnerable and sick, make child people

On the rocky road outside the camp where she's working, a woman has just given birth to a sickly infant boy, whose raspy breathers barely come. A journalist, having spotted the mother and suffering baby, rushes down a gossling red track. Journalists cannot use this child. No story filled with outrage will help. 'Can I go now?' the journalist asks the aid workers, her eyes seeking permission. They have been apprised of the situation. The reporter drives on, her moral duty completed. And the aid workers bundle the baby and to their van, to get him some care. □



grits. Says Gannon, "We want to provide an example of medical neutrality, one that will lead to other hospitals getting fighters to leave their weapons outside." Even with the Russian pullout from Chechnya, Gannon says the hospital will be around for a good while. The wounds of war take a long time to heal.

MALCOLM GLAF is *Prince of Wales*

Raising a stink

Massive demonstrations challenge Milosevic

Among the tens of thousands of demonstrators who gathered daily on the streets of Belgrade last week, there was almost a universal agreement: They might not force the resignation of Serbia's powerful president, Slobodan Milosevic—this time around at least, but they were sure they had shattered the myth of his invincibility and begun what they call "Serbia's democratic revolution." "We don't want to destroy anything," said one demonstrator. "We want to build. We want to build our freedom."

It was already the biggest and most sustained challenge to the governing Socialists since Milosevic came to power in 1987. Day after day for more than two weeks, the opposition mustered roughly 100,000 people on the streets to demand that local election results be reinstated. The protests had begun after Milosevic's opponents won control of a number of key towns and cities, including Belgrade—and then saw their victories overturned by local election commissions and courts dominated by the ruling party. Discontent over the economy—dragged until a year ago by sanctions brought on by

drew support from no fewer than 90 judges from lower courts.

After an initially limp response, the international community weighed in as well. Western countries gave strong support to the aim of reinstating the local election results—but not to toppling Milosevic. U.S. officials, especially, believed he was critical to maintaining peace in Bosnia as a signatory to last year's Dayton agreement. That ended the 3½-year conflict for which many cro-



Spasovic (left), Peric and Draskovic hold their signs in protest outside government TV building; "Yugoslav"

serbia has responsible. "We Serbs have had enough," said one of the protesters on the street. "The West wanted us to get rid of Milosevic when the war started, and we did nothing. Now we make war when they really need him."

The first sign of a retreat by Milosevic came last week when state television made a no-sentence announcement that the mayor of Serbia's second city, Nis, was resigning. Western diplomats say Nis was where socialist apparatchiks carried out the most blatant electoral fraud, with voting returns being altered by hand. The Socialist mayor Vukobratovic, a hard figure, attracting personal criticism from opposition demonstrators in a way that no other local Socialist politician had. Milosevic also allowed back on the air two independent radio stations silenced by

the government. At the weekend, the Supreme Court was looking again at whether the opposition victory in Belgrade should stand. A compromise seemed in the air: one of the applications to the court came from the Belgrade local election commission, including the representatives of the Socialist party.

Although the opposition announced a "shadow government" to replace Milosevic, diplomats saw little immediate prospect of his ouster. The president has appeared to give in to pressure on the streets before—during big demonstrations in 1991—only to bounce back quickly and reassert his authority over the whole country. Moreover, the long-standing opposition would have difficulty forming a stable administration.

The coalition behind the demonstrations has three leaders. The most charismatic is Vuk Draskovic, a poet who can captivate a crowd with his lyrical oratory. The most moderate is Vukobratovic, but her movement



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World NOTES

BOUTROS-GHALI GIVES IN

Boutros Boutros-Ghali finally succumbed to U.S. pressure and suspended his candidacy for another five-year term as UN secretary-general. The Egyptian diplomat, who not yet formally withdrawn from the race, but he renounced his name from the next Security Council vote, in which analysts expected his support would dwindle. The move was expected to open the way for other African candidates. Boutros-Ghali reportedly refused a U.S. offer of a special election position.

MAJOR LOSES A MAJORITY

Britain may soon have its first minority government, since 1973 after MP Sir John Gonsalves withdrew his support from Prime Minister John Major. Gonsalves did not quit the Conservative Party nor rule out voting with Major. But his move ends the prime minister's present majority and could force an election before his term expires in May. A new poll showed Tory support had dropped 16 points to a new low of 37 points behind the Labour party.

A MISSING MILITARY LOG

Parts of a crucial military log kept for Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf during the 1991 Gulf War are missing, Pentagon officials said. The lost logbook covers eight days while U.S. troops may have been exposed to nerve gas and other chemical weapons. At the time, soldiers blew up an ammunition depot in southern Iraq, which many veterans believe may be the cause of their illness.

HEBRON HOPES

Israeli and Palestinian officials raised hopes that agreement was near on an Israeli troop withdrawal from the West Bank town of Hebron. Both sides said a meeting of their leaders might be imminent. Talks on implementing the long-delayed withdrawal of most of Hebron to Palestinian rule had stalled for weeks.

O.J.'S DENIALS COUNTERED

Three witnesses at the wrongful-death trial against O.J. Simpson testified that the former football star told Nicole Brown during their marriage, Simpson's bloodied hands. All Cowiange reluctantly confirmed that Simpson slapped Brown in 1989. Simpson had denied ever hitting her.



Virel and Stoenbanks before they used a subway terror bombing

A honeymoon turns to tragedy in Paris

For Canadians Hélène Virel and Frank Stoenbanks, it was supposed to be the happiest time of their lives. They were married in Montreal on a Friday and landed in Paris on the Sunday. But on the following Tuesday last week, their innocent trip on the Paris subway ended in tragedy. Virel was killed and Stoenbanks badly injured when a powerful bomb exploded on the commuter

trains, just as it pulled into Port-Royal station near the famed Latin Quarter of central Paris. The blast killed two more people and injured at least 90 others. Authorities immediately suspected Algerian Muslim extremists, who have waged a fierce campaign against Algeria's Paris-backed military government since 1992. As security in Paris and other cities was stepped up dramatically, Interior Minister Jean-Louis Debré said the attack had "extremely worrying similarities" with a spate of blasts in Paris last year claimed by Algerian rebels.

The latest bomb, made of explosives and nails packed into a cooking gas canister, went off just inches from Virel, a 36-year-old nurse of Rivière-du-Loup, Que. She died instantly. Virel's husband, Stoenbanks, 30, was engulfed in flames and suffered serious burns to his face and limbs. The couple had flown to Paris to find an apartment after Stoenbanks, who works for a pharmaceutical company, was transferred there.

Whisky Finding ice on the moon

It may not be enough for a hockey rink, but American scientists believe a U.S. military spacecraft has traced evidence of ice on the moon that could eventually

support human life. "It's not a pond or a pool," said Rice University researcher P.J. Spauld, a Pentagon spokesman. "It's basically ice mixed in with the dirt," much like the Earth's tundra. Another scientist called the find a "dry lake" of ice, embedded at a quarter of a mile deep. The ice is likely the result of water left by comets that

crashed into an area already cold under its moon's south pole. The moon was detected by radar from a military research satellite. If confirmed, the ice deposits could be converted into liquid oxygen and hydrogen to boost it into fuel, water and oxygen for vehicle tanks of a space station within the next 50 years.

A female secretary of state

U.S. President Bill Clinton has announced Barbara Albright, the outspoken American ambassador to the United Nations, as the next secretary of state. Albright, 56, will be the first woman to serve as the nation's top diplomat and the highest-ranking female in U.S. government history like her fatherly approach to foreign policy—such as pushing for a strong military response to the Serbs in Bosnia—contrasts dramatically with predecessor Warren Christopher, a corporate lawyer known for extreme caution. Clinton also nominated National Security Adviser Anthony Lake to head the Central Intelligence Agency, said his deputy, Samuel Berger, to become security adviser. Former Republican senator William Cohen

is Clinton's choice to succeed William Perry as defense secretary, fulfilling the President's promise to name a Republican to a senior cabinet post. Some analysts say the cabinet choices signal a conservative tilt in Clinton's foreign policy, which, during his first term, was viewed as unconventional and reactive. None of the cabinet choices is likely to be opposed by the Senate at hearings in the new year.

Towering profits

Why bank earnings are setting new records

Royal Bank Plaza in Toronto, the bank reported the highest earnings in Canadian corporate history

centimes, profits from deposit service charges are a "vitamin," said IWC Cannon, a professor of finance at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.

Industry observers cite three major factors for this year's big jump in bank earnings:

Lower loan losses. Each of the banks has sharply reduced its provisions for bad debts. "The reduced losses are just signs in indicating the better bottom line," said Larry Wynant, associate dean of business at the University of Western Ontario in London, Ont. Assistant High Brown of Novelti Barra Inc. added that loan-loss reductions account for about half of the \$4 billion in annual profit the banks have added to their balance sheets since 1990, the industry's worst year thus far.

In the easy-money days of the late 1980s, loan write-downs took an enormous bite out of bank profits. Traditionally, loan-loss provisions account for about 0.3 per cent of each bank's assets, says Wynant. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, that figure rose to more than one per cent, forced up in part by the collapse of corporate giants such as Olympus and York, the Toronto-based real-estate empire controlled by the Rock family.

Lower interest rates and a healthier economy have since brought credit-loss provisions down to about 0.22 per cent of assets, Brown estimates. And while personal bankruptcies are still high, "you need a lot of risk going under to equal the corporate losses," says Susan Cohen, an

analyst with Drexel Capital Corp. in Montreal. Investment banking and securities fund sales. Most of the banks' options enjoyed increased volumes in 1995, but the stellar success of their brokerage houses and mutual funds left all other divisions in the dust. Flying high on the strength of a burgeoning stock market, the Bank of Nova Scotia's Scotia Capital Markets, for example, tripled its net income in 1995 to \$332 million, while the Bank of Montreal saw its investment banking earnings more than double to \$115 million. "The profits coming from these operations are record-breaking," said Cohen. The Toronto-Dominion Bank has become one of the country's leading mutual fund dealers. TD's mutual fund assets rose by \$4 billion in 1995 to \$30.2 billion.

International operations. The five largest banks now generate a significant slice of their profits overseas. The Bank of Montreal leads the pack, earning 47 per cent of its net income internationally. In the past two years, the bank has boosted its Chicago-based subsidiary, Harris Bank, from 40 branches to more than 140, becoming one of the largest retail banks in the U.S. Midwest. And this year's purchase of a 10-per-cent stake in Mexico's Bancomer accounted for \$36 million of the bank's \$1-billion increase in annual profits. "We placed more in an environment where the growth rates are higher," said Barrett.

The Big Six have also positioned themselves for the future by investing millions in telephone and on-line banking services that are growing rapidly. Last year alone, the number of customers using the Royal Bank's telephone banking service jumped 384 per cent to 870,000. In the crucial area of loan-loss reductions, however, Brown and other analysts believe the banks may have gone as far as they can go. As a result, he predicts that earnings will grow by eight per cent each of the next two years, compared with this year's 21 per cent.

But even with these three modest growth rates, Canada's largest banks will continue to bring in the billions.

JOHN SCHORFELD

ROLLING IN IT



2000 and early 1990s, that figure rose to more than one per cent, forced up in part by the collapse of corporate giants such as Olympus and York, the Toronto-based real-estate empire controlled by the Rock family. Lower interest rates and a healthier economy have since brought credit-loss provisions down to about 0.22 per cent of assets, Brown estimates. And while personal bankruptcies are still high, "you need a lot of risk going under to equal the corporate losses," says Susan Cohen, an

Bashing Zed

The fight between Canada's banks and backbench MPs over credit-card interest rates is starting to get personal—not to mention nasty. Last month, New Brunswick Liberal MP Paul Zed organized an all-party group of more than 100 parliamentarians to support his call for a public inquiry into the rates charged by banks and major retailers. "It's important to realize this is not a bank-banking campaign," the MP said of the bill. "There are retailers who deserve equal scrutiny."

Zed's dogged pursuit of the issue has won him no friends on Bay Street. Last week, bank industry representatives were privately asking why Zed has not been equally critical of the interest rates charged by major oil companies. They pointed out that Zed is connected by marriage to New Brunswick's powerful Irving clan, which owns Irving Oil, the largest

gasoline retailing company in Atlantic Canada. Zed's wife, Judith Irving Zed, is a granddaughter of the late tycoon K. C. Irving. Congress, Irving Oil changes its customers 24 per cent annually on balances that are not paid within 25 days.

In fact, Zed's initial press release on the subject did mention gasoline cards, albeit only in passing. "Our group may decide to address the gas companies at a later date, depending on the response provided by the banks and retailers," the statement said. "Gas company cards represent a very small proportion of total credit cards in use and are responsible for only a small portion of sales in comparison with banks and retail cards."

Asked about the Irving connection last week, Zed defended his approach by accusing the banks of "aggressive lobbying," the Canadian Bankers' Association,

of trying to smear his reputation. "It's too bad they've stopped to this sort of personal attack on my wife's family," he said, adding that CBA vice-president Mark Worswick had raised the Irving family's name in the weeks while both men were appearing on a radio call-in show in

London, Ont. "What interests me is the fact that the CBA seems to have significant members on members of Parliament," Zed said. "They're a cartel. I think this is going to blow up in their face."

At week's end, CBA officials were trying to defuse the controversy. "I recognize it probably was inappropriate to single out that one company," Worswick said. "All we're saying is that there hasn't been much substance in this debate to other card issuers" besides the banks themselves. But the sound of things, however, Zed and the banks are far from ready to make up

ROSS LIVEN



Zed: 'They're a cartel'

The skys above Bay Street were cloudy and grey, but 86 stories up, in a tastefully appointed meeting room usually reserved for Bank of Montreal executives, the mood of the banks was merry. A contingent of journalists had been a welcomed sight for a bankier with Matthew Barrett, chairman and chief executive officer of Canada's oldest largest bank. "This is a happy occasion—sure," the dapper Barrett urged one glum-faced scribe. The bank's profits, he announced, had soared through the \$5-billion mark for the first time ever, coming out \$2.17 billion for the year that ended on Oct. 31. "Obviously the numbers are very good, very strong," said Barrett. "We're very pleased."

Barrett's counterpart at the Royal Bank, John Claghare, was, if anything, even more pleased. Canada's largest bank weighed in last week with the highest profit figure in Canadian history: \$1.43 billion, exceeding the \$1.39 billion earned by General Motors of Canada last year. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce was next among the banks with \$1.37 billion, followed by the Bank of Montreal and the Bank of Nova Scotia, which netted \$1.07 billion. The smaller Toronto-Dominion Bank posted \$914 million, while the

National Bank of Canada finished the year with \$818 million in profit. The final tally: \$6.3 billion, 21 per cent more than in 1995.

The banks' year-end bonuses in industry drew fire. Urged on by the Council of Canadian, small groups of protesters demonstrated outside bank branches in Edmonton, Ottawa, Toronto and St. John's, N.S. "Put an end to the greed," declared Peter Blais, the council's executive director. Democracy Watch, an independent Ottawa-based consumer group, said that Canadians are justified in suspecting that the banks are "siphoning" them in service charges and interest rates because the industry has failed to disclose information that proves otherwise.

Academics and bank industry analysts, however, say that service charges actually contribute only a small proportion of the banks' total profits. At the Bank of Nova Scotia, income from service charges across all divisions rose by 11 per cent to \$409 million, but only about 10 per cent of that is profit, vice-chairman Bob Chisholm estimated. Royal Bank spokesman David Moorcroft, meanwhile, said that about three per cent of after-tax earnings came from service charges on personal deposit accounts. Compared with overall bank



Block, Bre-X president and CEO David Wood (far left), winning the beauty

Bre-X and Barrick have yet to span major differences. Last week, investment advisors were battling over the valuation of the property by last Friday, Douglas McIntosh, a vice-president with J.P. Morgan, representing Bre-X, had left Jakarta and returned to his home base of Maricopa. The same day the *Jakarta Post* ran a page 1 story headlined "Barrick and Bre-X Join Forces." Which they haven't.

The next move, it appeared, would have to come from the Indonesian government. Idris Rugini Sudjana, the country's minister of mines and energy—who reports to Jakarta—is due back in Jakarta this week. He will then review the state of play. There is some urgency. Barrick's promise to fast-track mine construction, estimated at \$3.5 billion, is one of the official reasons the Indonesians picked Barrick as the mine operator. It will take at least 3½ years to define the property and construct the mine. And the Indonesian government wants to see gold production by the year 2000.

The Indonesians have also said that Barrick was picked because it is the most qualified. That, says John Wilson, chief executive officer of Vancouver-based Placer Dome Inc., is "mainly because of Barrick's multiple major construction projects in the past dozen years in such logistically tough locales as Papua New Guinea. Wilson says there is "no question that we are better qualified than Barrick to build that mine." Early last week, Wilson confirmed that Placer had made a bid for Bessing, only to find any such plan repudiated by the government's choice of Barrick. By going public, Wilson had hoped to rouse public sentiment. He had hoped to get a meeting with Suharto.

Having failed, Wilson is highly critical of the way in which, as he puts it, the bidding for Bessing was "shot down." If that's the way the government intends to do business, he says, "then I certainly don't want to go exploring in Indonesia and I doubt the power mining companies will." Who, he then asks, will run the risk of financing future projects there? And he laments Bre-X's powerless position. "They had a terribly natural right to pick their own partner," he says, a point the Indonesian government, which still owns the mineral rights on the key Bessing deposit, clearly disputes. Wilson has been at the mining game for years. He knows what Bre-X has endured in pursuit of its pot of gold. "They bid for mines in the jungle of Kalimantan," he says. Now it is being taken away. It is only a matter of time.

JENNIFER WELLS

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BUSINESS

Golden opportunity

In early December, 1995, Indonesian President Suharto created a supervisory unit to oversee his country's economic development. Headed by Hartono Sastrohewono, the department manages a mighty portfolio, from telecommunications to forestry to mining, including the investment and so-called "hard affairs" that apply to each industry. Hartono has a son, Arhanaga, about whom little is known beyond the fact that he runs a construction company out of Jakarta, the capital.

There is one thing in this that holds enormous appeal for Barrick Gold Corp., the Toronto-based mining company that is vying to control the richest gold deposit on the planet. Last week, while Randall Oliphant, Patrick Gervier and Neil MacLachlan—respectively chief financial officer, general counsel and executive vice-president, Asia, for Barrick—were attempting to negotiate a joint venture on the Jalsanta Bessing gold riches of East Kalimantan, Arhanaga was brought along as part of the Bre-X team. So, too, was the equally youthful Madhwa Yoko, assistant to Suharto's eldest daughter, Tutut, with whom Barrick has struck an agreement for infrastructure construction at Bessing. Arhanaga and Madhwa Yoko sat in on the negotiations. Neither said a word, silent parties in a rooming extremely powerful construction.

It all has the dramatic ring of a Sydney Government movie. But there is nothing fo-

reign about the Bessing affair. For as the Barrick negotiators met in Jakarta with representatives of Bre-X Minerals Ltd., the Calgary junior mining company that discovered the Indonesian gold deposit, Bre-X itself released long-awaited drill results. Gold reserves at Bessing now stand at a whopping 57 million ounces, reaffirming that Bessing is, after all, the mine find of the century. And so one who has followed the Bre-X story believes the sun of the mine-to-be sets there.

Which explains why Barrick and its founder, Peter Harris, so badly want it. But last week's deadline of Dec. 4, set by Umar Said, Indonesia's secretary general of mines, came and went with no agreement on the joint venture. On deadline day, Said held a news conference in Jakarta in which he warned that if time is not reached, the government "will take the necessary and appropriate action" to expedite the development of Bessing's resources. He then condemned Bre-X for failing to report various project developments and for breaching the government's own regulations. "No one can find say inners that the government had interfered in any general mining project," he said, ruing through the government itself has ordered Bre-X to share its hoard with Barrick. "If there are problems, we try to bridge the parties concerned."

Bre-X and Barrick still have major differences

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Business NOTES

CASH FOR CRUDE

Petro-Canada plans to spend \$660 million next year on exploration and capital works. About \$250 million will be earmarked for Western Canada, while \$380 million will go to projects in Newfoundland, including the Hibernia and Terra Nova fields. Sunco announced a capital budget of \$700 million, including \$250 million for a 330-km pipeline from its oilfields plant in Fort McMurray, Alta., to Edmonton.

GO AWAY GLOBAL

There is no more in Europe for Geo-West Global. Montreal's two English-language TV stations said: The CBC and CIBC-TV, a CTV affiliate, told the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission that Quebec's 960,000-strong English community is too small to support a third station. Global wants to buy a small station in Quebec City and use it to transmit programming to Montreal.

GREY OUTLOOK FOR RRSPs

Only 34 per cent of Canadians plan to contribute to registered retirement savings plans this year, down from 50 per cent last year, according to a survey for Royal Trust. That represents the survey's lowest finding since 1985, when 52 per cent of those questioned said they expected to invest in an RRSP. "Canadians are still finding it economically difficult and they basically just don't have the money," said Bruce Armstrong, a Royal Trust spokesman.

DISNEY ON THE DEFENSIVE

A U.S. labor rights group accused the Walt Disney Co. of selling clothes and toys made by Third World children. Disney officials said the accusations by the New York-based National Labor Committee were unsubstantiated or dated. The NLC said it planned protests at Disney stores in several major U.S. and Canadian cities.

FORD DENIES CLOSINGS

Ford Motor Co. denied a report that it plans to shut several assembly plants in Canada and the United States. The Wall Street Journal reported that Ford is considering closing its car plant in Lincoln, Ohio, along with several other unprofitable factories. "We have no plans and we've made no decisions on plant closings," said Jacques Huet, Ford's president of automotive operations.

Greenspan sends stocks reeling

When it comes to money, stockholders are a sensitive lot. It took only one remark by the chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve last week to send stock markets around the world tumbling. During a speech in Washington after the New York Stock Exchange had closed for the day, central bank chairman Alan Greenspan warned that as "irrational exuberance" had gripped the stock market, implying that share prices are overvalued. Within hours, a selling frenzy in Tokyo sent the Nikkei index into a 700-point freefall, a five-year crash decline and the biggest drop in a year. Europe's financial capitals were also rocked. In London, the Financial Times 100 index plummeted 103 points, its steepest slide since October, 1990. "Greenspan set a trap for the market," said Andy Harnwell, a Lon-



Fed chairman shockwave

don-based equity strategist. At the trading day closed in Toronto, the TSX-300 index fell more than 170 points, although it later staged an impressive comeback, finishing at 5,810, down only 32 points. In New York, the Dow Jones industrial average closed 55 points down after sliding as much as 244 points. "There's been no fundamental change in the economy," said Fred Ketsch, senior vice-president of ScotiaMcLeod Inc. in Toronto. "The emotional reaction in the market ought to calm down." Analysts were left wondering, however, whether

the sudden dip was the beginning of a long-awaited correction after an extended bull run. "People have made 30 to 40 per cent in the market," said Richard Weiss, a trader in Hong Kong. "They're saying, 'We made a bit of money'—and they're selling."

Banking on the future

Canada's native people are entering a new economic era. In January, the federally chartered First Nations Bank of Canada will begin to offer a wide range of services to nations and non-nations from its head office in Saskatoon and across the country through branches of the Toronto-Dominion Bank. The First Nations Bank is being launched with \$8 million

from TD and \$2 million from the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. In the early years, TD will take 25 per cent of the profits. The federation plans to reinvest its earnings with the expectation that, within 10 years, the bank will be fully owned by native people. "It's a major political statement," says Elaine Pavey, chair of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. "Economic self-reliance is a cornerstone of self-government."

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Despite signs of accelerating economic growth, unemployment in November stood at 10 per cent, unchanged from October. The loss of 37,000 jobs in the private sector was offset by a 40,000 increase in self-employed workers. The U.S. unemployment rate edged up to 5.4 per cent from 5.2 in October. Among more positive indicators, residential building permits jumped 5.2 per cent in October from the previous month. Permits for non-residential construction dropped 2.4 per cent.

"Most of the job gains were in the West, as usual," B.C. Ad with an 11,000 increase and is

now up 3.9 per cent in the past year. That is the strongest in the country, and offsets part of a major slowdown in that province." —Nesbit Burns

"Purchases of big ticket items such as furniture and appliances are beginning to climb back... Spending on most other consumer items remains lackluster." —Scotiabank

"All the indicators are there for a combination of what really has been, by international standards, strong job creation." —Financial Minister Paul Martin

CANADIAN CAR AND TRUCK SALES



SOURCE: AUTOMOBILE NEWS



Peter C. Newman

Peter Bronfman: the gentle, lonely tycoon

Peter Frederick Bronfman, the most sensitive and sensitive member of one of history's great business dynasties, died last weekend at age 65.

The Edgar Group of companies that he and his brother Edward founded and built up during the last quarter of his life turned into an astonishingly diverse and successful \$38-billion empire, employing 64,000 people. Its top executives spent much of last week trumpeting their late chairman's "corporate statesmanship" and "business leadership." Peter would not have had much patience with such terms in his life. "I happen," he once said in a rare low-keyed for his life.

What he meant was not so much to denigrate his corporate success, as to affirm his own priorities. He spent most of his life becoming his own man, allowing the rising big deep inside to take command and cut him loose from the constraints of his upbringing.

To be a Bronfman is never easy. "I grew up in a castle on a hill [in Belvedere Avenue in Montreal's posh Westmount district], and I wasn't really aware of what was going on. I had no friends and no real relationship with my parents," he would recall. "I had a nurse for five years when I was very young, and when she happened to meet at the last lunch later when I was 38, we just fell into one another's arms, and hugged and hugged."

Says Bronfman, the dynasty's father and Peter's uncle, could make boys out of men, and with Peter he almost succeeded. Alan Bronfman, Peter's father and San's key deal maker, always hoped that his two sons would be granted a major role in running the Seagram empire. But just after Peter graduated from Yale, Sam said it very clear that there was to be no place for the two boys. Command of the giant distillery was ordered directly and exclusively to San's two sons, Charles and Edgar. Alan's reduced role was of Seagram stock was enough to provide his sons with seed money to start their own, initially top conglomerate. But Peter never forgot the slight.

The business empire, which at different times has included such well-known firms as John Labatt Ltd., Lorain Ltd., Insurance Co., Broca Ltd., Normale Ltd., and Royal LePage Ltd., took up most of Peter's working time, but his heart and spirit were never in it. He attended only the occasional compulsory corporate cocktail party. He would stand at the back of the room, hunched over in a penitent position, ignoring his fat, portly side, silently praying for relief.

Peter lived nothing better than to put on his raincoat and walk alone through the fluorescently lit, busy city streets, investigating the radiant moonlight along the way. He also wrote poetry, some of which was published, though he did produce a nine-volume graphic volume for his friends in 1989. His generous nature—quite

at philanthropy was his favorite activity—seldom surfaced publicly. Neither did he allow himself to show any emotion except around the kitchen table of his home, which was his favorite meeting spot.

The business venture he enjoyed most was ownership of the Canadiens hockey team and the Montreal Forum from 1977 to 1978. One of the main commentators who worked out of the media press box at the time later recalled that Peter would frequently sit beside him. When the commentator asked the landlord why, Peter explained that he could relax during games only by sitting next to somebody with an open microphone—so that way he couldn't yell when he felt like it. His respect for the players knew no boundaries. Only a few months before he died, he flew to Montreal for a private visit with a former star forward (Floyd Curry, suffering from Alzheimer's). The Babes won four Stanley Cups during the seven years he owned the team. After he sold it to Molson's and bought, through Labatt's, the Toronto Blue Jays instead, the baseball squad won two World Series.

Peter lived modestly, moving in the late 1970s from a \$400,000 farmhouse near but not in Westmount to a similarly modest dwelling in midtown Toronto. He dined his own socks and, except for his valuable and exquisitely chosen art collection (Picasso, Chagall, Haring, plus an acre of built sculpture), he had no expensive tastes. "I'm just not serious enough in spending the kind of money one consumes or is to live in houses like this," he confessed. "A strong part of me feels sorry, 'My God, the money just came to me, maybe it could all disappear someday.'"

He came to maturity only late, in 1985 after marrying his third wife, Linda Carroll-Harsh, a Vancouver management consultant, who fulfilled his quest for security and stability. He spent the last decade of his life in their country place, a converted one-room schoolhouse in Palatine, Ont., where his private nature was allowed to flourish.

Peter died just one day short of being presented the Order of Canada in a special bawdy ceremony by Gov. Gen. Roméo LeBlond. The letters recommending him for the honor summed up his life. Conrad Black noted that he represented "the most human and constructive face of sensitive capitalism." Jack Shulman, one of his best friends, awarded Government House that Bronfman had contributed to "inspiring young artists." June Calabrese, the Toronto social activist, praised "his inspiring degree, compassion and commitment."

The most significant letter came from cousin Charles Bronfman, Mr. San's son, the man whose inheritance Peter had so missed. "Peter," Charles wrote, "is a man who has carved a place for himself in Canadian history. He well deserves the recognition of being included in the Order of Canada."

Peter Bronfman had come home at last.

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People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS

A beaut of a winner

When the Miss Australia pageant gets under way next February, one of the contestants is bound to stand out—**Hrod Rodgers**. Last week in Melbourne, the 27-year-old department store manager won the Victorian State contest and became the first man to qualify for the national event since its beginning in the early 1950s. But it wasn't his looks that helped Rodgers capture the crown; it was his success in raising more than \$100,000 for the Spastic Society of Australia. (The state dropped the beauty pageant sale of its contest in the late



Rodgers (left) from right and fellow finalists: The age gap that gender-specific suit?

1980s in the face of criticism that it was exploitative and patronizing. "I'm not here to make a political statement for blokes," said Rodgers, "but I do hope I'll be the first of many. I'm not into that gender-specific stuff." His official title? Victorian Funderer, not Miss Victoria.

Hungry to act

At age 29, Vancouver-born actor **Gill Bellows** has already had some small but juicy movie parts, most notably the rockabilly male with crucial information in 1994's *The Shadowboxer*. That portrayal helped get him noticed and he has been working ever since—to the point that, even before he finishes one role, he has to start preparing for the next. In this last summer, when he was filming *White Man Get with Justice*, Bellows lost 200 lb. for his lead role in *The Asper*



Bellows: undernourished

to work with director **Barbet Schroeder**, who first noticed *The Asper* in 1997. "It's an honor to play the part he wanted **Dustin Hoffman** for"

ted. The sunbaked actor says he dropped to 187 lb. to look undernourished enough to play the Depression-era drifter **Frankie Algren** in the movie, based on Bernard Malamud's 1967 novel of the same name. Then in November, during its final week of shooting in Toronto, wardrobe people turned up to fit him for his next film. Director at first's: Not Bellows, not confident about the work load, especially the chance to work with director **Barbet Schroeder**, who first noticed *The Asper* in 1997. "It's an honor to play the part he wanted **Dustin Hoffman** for"

History gets a happy ending

Since the age of 9, **Marcia Sierpach** wanted to be an author. With the release of her children's picture book *Silver Threads*, the Bramford, Ont., native has fulfilled that dream—and found a new one. *Silver Threads*, illustrated by **Michael Martchenko**, is a Christmas fable based on the experiences of her Ukrainian-Canadian grandfather and 5,000 others who were interned in government camps as "enemy aliens" during the First World War—a chilling fact Sierpach, 42, only discovered in the 1980s. *King Masters*, an author at Penguin Canada, said that *Silver Threads* was one of the select few children's books the Toronto-based company published this fall because, despite its historic origins, it really is a classic fable about the power of love. In the book, the persecuted couple—based on her grandparents—live happily ever after. But in reality, her grandparents who escaped from the camp, returned to find his Alberta farm and all his belongings confiscated and sold. Since 1995, Sierpach has worked to get an official apology or at least an acknowledgment of what happened, from the Canadian government. "A symbolic address," she says, "would make all the difference in the world."

The selling of 'the fourth tenor'

It is not unusual for rock and country stars to flip their latest CDs via publicity tours, but that seldom happens in the world of opera. Then there is French sensation **Roberto Alagna**—billed as "the fourth tenor"—and a potential successor to Luciano Pavarotti, **Filippo Domingo** and **José Carreras**—who makes no apologies for his North American tour to promote his music, including two new recordings, *Our Christmas Songs* for his and Carreras' voices. "It's only in the opera world where it's unusual to do promotion," Alagna, 34, lamented during the Montreal leg of his tour. "Why don't we have the right?" His relationship with opera never has been conventional. Alagna trained as an architect and had never seen a live opera before landing his first role in 1988. Since then, he has made up for lost time, singing at least five hours a day when he isn't performing. Being well taught has made him work harder, Alagna adds. "You always have the impression you're behind and that you don't have time to waste."

Alagna: It's only in the opera world that it's unusual



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Assumed identities

English police charge a Canadian with murder

The fishing trawler *Milkarry* was wrecked off the southwest coast of England near the seaside resort of Torquay on July 38 when it hauled in a murky catch—a badly decomposed body. With no identification papers to go on, police managed to trace the ownership of a Rolex wristwatch that was still attached to a wrist, and confirmed in October that the dead man was Ronald Platt, 51, a businessman from the sleepy village of Woodhams, Wiltshire, 100 km air from London. But when officers visited his home, the pretty deckchair man who answered the door claimed to be Platt. On Oct. 31, police returned and arrested the impostor on a charge of murdering Platt. Last week, they revealed that the impostor man is in fact Albert Johnson, Walker of Paris, Ont., a financial planner living charges in Canada after disappearing in 1990 allegedly with \$3.2 million in clients' money. And in a tale first quickly developed more events than a murder mystery by Torquay's former daughter, Cynthia Christie, they also identified the 21-year-old woman living with Walker and two children, she is Sheila Walker, his daughter who disappeared at the same time.



Walker and daughter Sheila before they disappeared in 1990. gold and cash

The six lost years

OCT. 19, 1990 Paris, Ont., businessman Albert Walker, 45, and his daughter Sheila, 13, disappear and allegedly that he stole \$3.2 million from clients. **JULY 28, 1996** A fishing boat catches a body in a net in the English Channel, later confirmed to be that of English businessman Ronald Platt, 51. **OCT. 31**—in a British village, police arrest "David Wallis Davis," 51, on a charge of murdering Platt, arrest and subsequently release the woman he and two children are living with, "Nigel Davis," 21, and seize large quantities of gold, bullion and cash. **NOV. 27**, police confirm that David Davis is Albert Walker, and Nigel Davis is Sheila Walker.

proved when it was Walker who moved into the tiny, two-story stone house, known locally as the Little London Farm. Neighbors on the narrow, hedge-lined roadless lane say the Walkers quickly blended into the community. Gossamers listened to him on the wide-walled garden was filled with red roses, and there were often twin

Raleigh bicycles, one with a child carrier, in the driveway. Walker even opened an office in the nearby village of Westwood under Platt's name and advertised himself as a personal coach for. "She stayed home and did all the cooking," recalled Mossman. "They even had a cat." According to another neighbor, Frank Johnson, Walker worked with three or four people in Westwood. "He was supposed to be the best of it," said Johnson. "He went off to work every morning and sometimes he went away on business."

In truth, Walker, who is now being held in Exeter jail near Torquay, was one of the most wanted men in Canada. He was sought by both the RCMP and Interpol on charges of taking 30 Canadians out of millions of dollars. Walker founded and operated Walker Financial Services Inc., a chain of financial planning centres based in the south-western Ontario community of Paris. Many of his clients were well-to-do farmers, and he insisted much of their money in a company beyond their reach in the Cayman Islands. Friends say that as his company grew, so did Walker's taste for the good life, and he became known for his expensive tastes in clothes and cars. But his business began to unravel in the mid-1980s when he allegedly started investing his clients' money in real estate and the booming stock market, losing heavily in both. As Christie noted in 1990, police say he took \$3.2 million out of the company and flew to London with Sheila, then 15.

A missing police investigation followed, involving both the RCMP and Ontario Provincial Police, and on April 2, 1993, charges were laid against Walker in absentia—seven counts of theft, two of fraud and nine of harboring the proceeds of crime, arising from the way stolen money moved out of the country. But it could be a long time before he returns to Canada to face the charges, because first he must stand trial for murder in Britain.

Once in England, police say Walker moved quickly to assume a new identity. They say their investigations showed that Walker paid the real Platt to leave England for Canada with his girlfriend, when he was to start a new life and never come back. Unfortunately for Platt, police say, the woman he left with did not like Canada and he returned. Police suspect he told Walker that he wanted to resume his previous life, and may have tried to black-



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mail box. And that, they say, may have led to a struggle aboard Walker's 24-foot yacht, *The Lady Jane*, which he kept moored in Torquay. "Certainly there had been two people living in Woodham Walker with the same name [Ronald Platt]," said Insp. John Wood. "It's fair to deduce that when a second person arrives something had to happen."

While police so far have no witnesses to put the two men together in July, the clues may be a strong piece of evidence. According to the date on the watch, it stopped working on July 22. But because the watch could continue running for 36 hours without both hands moving, police say Platt likely died on July 23. On that day, according to phone records obtained by police, Walker called a water taxi to take him out to *The Lady Jane*. Later that day, he contacted the coast guard to notify them that he had put out to sea.

Evidence found in Walker's home in Woodham Walker also suggests that something highly unusual was taking place. Police say that when they entered the house, they found Shreeva stuffing a bag with gold bars worth \$500,000, and thousands of dollars in cash were elsewhere in the home. They arrested Walker as he tried to bail a son outside the home; then found more gold and cash in his Brentwood office. After first identifying himself as Platt, Walker later gave his name as David Wallis Davis, and identified Shreeva as his wife, Nad Davis. Police charged him with murder under that name on Nov. 4. But a subsequent fingerprint check with little result revealed his true identity.

After confirming Walker's identity, police notified his ex-wife, Barbara Walker, who still lives in the family home in Pars with the couple's three other children. For six years, she had fretted about the fate of her daughter, and she flew miserably to England for a reunion with Shreeva. Her daughter is now living at an undisclosed address while a special services officer carries out her children. So far, Shreeva, who will likely be a key witness at her father's trial, has not been charged with any crime.

During their emotional meeting, Barbara Walker said she and her daughter did not discuss who the father was. "At this point, I'm not in a position to say," she said. "We just don't know." But a court's verdict, she added, "saying she just wants to bring Shreeva and her two new grandchildren home to Canada." Shreeva called about coming home for Christmas, says Barbara Walker, "but that is just a dream at this point." As the story of Albert Walker and his daughter unfolded last week it sounded more like a nightmare.

Trial and tribulations

The legal knot tightens on a former hockey czar

When he controlled the National Hockey League Players Association, was the boss of the Canada Cup and counted prime ministers and Supreme Court justices as friends, Alan Eagleson appeared unassailable. But that image slipped when a grand jury in Boston indicted the lawyer and player agent in 1994 on 32 charges that included racketeering and obstruction of justice. The legal knot around the 63-year-old tightened even more last week. First, the

he faces another trial from a former client, Andre Severil, and is named in a class-action suit in Philadelphia that alleges that he, former NHL president John Ziegler and league chairman William Winter misled U.S. labor and racketeering laws and conspired to hold down NHL salaries. The allegations have not been proven in court. The Law Society of Upper Canada, meanwhile, is investigating 45 allegations of misconduct. "I think Alan Eagleson will be looking at the world a lot differently today," Edmonton lawyer Rich Winters, who helped lure Eagleson out of the players' association, said after the RCMP filed its charges. "And I don't think it will be a pretty sight."

Eagleson's opponents say the RCMP and Law Society were slow to act on allegations against Eagleson, and wonder why federal Justice Minister Allan Rock, a former head of the Law Society, has not responded to a long-standing U.S. request that Eagleson be extradited to face the grand jury charges in Boston. But Charles Wagnan, the lawyer who represented Eagleson in the Giffis case, says Canadian authorities would not want to send him south until they had a chance to prosecute him here. The justice department, meanwhile, says it will not comment on extradition requests.

Eagleson is scheduled to appear in a Toronto court on Dec. 16 to hear the RCMP charges, and he plans to appeal the Giffis decision sometime early in the new year. Beyond that, his future is unclear. Wagnan says his client has weathered the costly legal wranglings well. "He has a strong character," the lawyer says. "He is not the kind of guy who has been and gives up." But many of his critics in the hockey world say that Eagleson cannot expect compassion for his mounting legal woes. Says Winters: "It's just more snail that he deserves."

JAMES DEACON



Eagleson outside court; avoids breach

PHOTO BY JAMES DEACON FOR THE GLOBE AND MAIL

RCMP charged him with eight counts of fraud and theft. Then, one day later, Ontario Court Justice Joseph O'Brien ruled in a civil case that Eagleson wrongfully billed a client, former Boston Bruin Mike Giffis, when he had only collected a \$378,500 disability claim after an injury out short Giffis's hockey career. O'Brien ordered Eagleson to reimburse Giffis \$55,085 plus interest dating from 1986 and to pay damages of \$30,000. And as his scolding sentence, the judge wrote that Eagleson "was in serious breach of... his professional responsibilities as Giffis's lawyer."

Eagleson's prospects are not expected to improve anytime soon. In the United States, in addition to the Boston charges,

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Backpack

TECHNOLOGY

PRESEASON GAMES

Ten CD-ROMs make the grade

As Christmas Time for friends and family to gather together and eat too much. Time to receive presents in the spirit of fellowship, and return them on Boxing Day. Time to make plenty of good cheer, and to react in on Boxing Day. Time also, as the doctored level around the dinner table reaches a dull roar to sneak away from the festivities and boot up the computer, to sit in front of the screen for hours on end—and hope that nobody catches on. Why? Well, for sheer educational or head-eye-coordination value, an evening in front of the computer playing CD-ROM games sure beats a night vegetating by the boob tube. More important, these things are *fun*. And with a pre-season flood of CD-ROMs as computer store shelves, there are literally hundreds of available holiday gifts—most priced between \$30 and \$60—for children or like-minded adults. A sampling of 10 recently released entertainment CD-ROMs, ranging from the superb to the barely passable, the educational to the deliciously frivolous.

1. Daggerfall (Bethesda, Bethesda) One of the most highly anticipated CD-ROM releases of 1998, *Daggerfall* is a detailed, branching role-playing game that lives up to its hype. Set in the mythical land of Tamriel—which, in the game's virtual reality, is about the same size as England—41 new players create their own characters and guide them on a dangerous quest for dark secrets about the death of King Lysandus. A satisfying blend of action and strategy, *Daggerfall* is as addictive as the first big CD-ROM hit, *Myst*, and far more entertaining. But beware: with game play estimated at a maximum of 300 hours, and thousands of unique sites to explore, players could lose themselves in there.

2. NHL 97 (EA Sports) It's not real hockey, but it just might be the next best thing—maybe even better. Featuring all 26 NHL teams and full regular season schedules, *NHL 97* has a knock-out sound track, beautifully rendered images, stats on teams and players, play-by-play from an announcer who actually seems to be following the game, eight camera angles—the list of state-of-the-art features goes on and on. What it does not have is a realistic coaching option, nor does it capture the wit of hockey strategy and



Links LS (above), NHL 97 (below) would be holiday gifts—don't miss the educational!

friends—and throw in a few educational tidbits about geography and problem-solving. The storyline is simple (the game is recommended for kids aged 5 and up) and silly without being stupid. Madeline's is a fanciful, surprise-filled trip that any child—boy or girl—should find well worth taking.

4. Links LS (Greene Software) Golf simulations have proven immensely popular among computer enthusiasts. And for those, *Links LS* is probably the most carefully rendered and playable golf game yet. The graphics of lawns, rough, greens and trees are

troubling. But from the heart-pounding introduction to the roar of the crowd after the final goal of the Stanley Cup, few players will care.

5. Madeline: European Adventures (Creative Wonders) Even parents will find reason to chuckle in this engaging story based on the picture books about the little French schoolgirl. In this episode, narrated by Christine Phamnet, Madeline and her canine sidekick, Genevieve, track a thief from Paris to Istanbul. Along the way, they solve puzzles and meet new



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quiescent with the machine of military logistics and ordnance, will make this game for its simple interface and very impressive look and sound. Players operate hulking war robots in an effort to secure planets (owned by a quasi-evil megacorporation) against alien attacks. Talon for what it is, *Shattered Steel* is fast, fun and furious, with the best graphics of any action game around.

8. Wishbone and the Amazing Odyssey (Palladium Interactive) There is something charmingly ridiculous about a dog who dresses up as characters in great works of literature. Wishbone and the *Amazing Odyssey*, a comic retelling of Homer's epic poem, features the wickerworking, plucky pooch from the popular children's TV series.

Designed for children aged 8 and up, this educational release invites players to help Odysseus-cum-Wishbone on his tribulation-filled journey from Troy to his home in Ithaca. Along the way, the game educates young players about ancient Greek civilization and mythology, and even includes an informative guide for parents and teachers.

9. Quake (id software) First there was Doom, a runaway success that sold more than 10 million copies. Now, id has released a sequel—of sorts—in *Quake*, a gross-out-mutated shoot-out through a gloomy, anti-fest-infested environment like Doom.

Quake's game-play basically consists of killing hordes of mutant nasties. And it can be played over a computer network—meaning that several would-be Berserkers can take on monsters, or one another, at the same time. The difference in *Quake*, however, is a software engine that creates a 3-D environment where players can be attacked from front, back, above or below. A never-ending symphony of gore, *Quake* is far too violent for small children. But it should provide gratifying mindless entertainment for mature gamers. And procrastinating office workers.

10. Canadian Geographic Explorer (QJ Media) Not really an entertainment CD-ROM, but rather an attempt to make a typically stale subject, geographical understanding, and digital language succeed—an impressive accomplishment in itself. A comprehensive look at Canada's geography, the program includes a mapmaker utility, flybys and film clips of notable landscapes, a point-and-click database of Canadian Geographic articles, and a quiz game. All in all, *Explorer* promises hours of informative browsing to inquisitive minds, young and old. True, some users might wish there were a little more entertainment and less information. But, hey, there's more to life than fun and games, isn't there?

BACKPACK

nothing short of surprising on the enclosed courses—Kappa Planetaria, Kappa Village and real legend Arnold Palmer's own Latitude course. The players, including an incredibly realistic Arnold Palmer, react with body language (and expletives) after shots. As rewarding or frustrating as a day on a real golf course, *Latitude LS* will keep well on any hard drive.

5. Soulstrip (Microdream) On the surface, this release from Canadian software company Microdream looks like any other basic shooting game. But the difference with the smooth, rolling graphics and unique player controls. The plot involves saving a computer company executive named Malcolm West from his come-to-life nightmares. To do that, the player must master not only weapons, but also movement in a consistently shifting, three-dimensional world that defies description. Suffice to say, *Soulstrip* is distinctly difficult—and strongly fascinating.

6. Nemesis (Sir Tech) A game that includes adventure, action and role-playing, *Nemesis* is the long-awaited new installment from Sir Tech—one of the most innovative and dependable software companies in the business. Not surprisingly, its latest release is suitably excellent. In *Nemesis*, the player guides a young peasant through a mystical kingdom threatened by mysterious—and truly frightening—evil magic. This is a pretty standard premise in games, but the resolution here is outstanding. The player controls for fighting and exploration are both functional and interesting; the graphics, particularly the rollicking-camera views of 3-D rendered characters, are stunning. And the Nemesis sound track—too often overlooked by game developers—on such and moody, but pairs to create a unique world that is completely outstanding.

7. Shattered Steel (Interplay) A whole school of hard-core role-warrior computer gamers exists somewhere out there. And they will probably hate *Shattered Steel*, since it sacrifices "realism"—a dubious concept when it comes to the fantasy world of computer games—for playability. But others, who are less fussy



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Backpack HEALTHWATCH

POP WITH BITE

Will teens find
'alcopops'
irresistible?

It all started in the Bell and Bear Air House of Adelaide, Australia. In 1999, owner Duncan MacGillivray brewed an alcoholic lemonade called Two Dogs—and 'alcopops,' a sweet, pop-like drink with a kick, was born. Two Dogs has since become an international phenomenon, quenching thirst in more than 45 countries, including Canada. Last year, London-based brewing giant Bass Brewhong followed with its own hard lemonade, Binger's Bunch, which has been available in Canada since late last month. Dozens of other competitors have jumped in with new alcopop varieties, including grape, orange and cola-flavored beverages with such soupy names as JuicyTails™ and Zuzuda Sling. But organizations concerned with alcohol abuse claim that teenagers are the main consumers of the sugary drinks, most of which have an alcohol content of 4.5 per cent (roughly the same as beer) and sell for around \$9.75 for six bottles. "We need to be careful about how these products are marketed," says Robert Mann, a scientist at the Addiction Research Foundation in Toronto. "I have some pretty serious concerns about who would be the most likely consumers of the product."

International sales of alcopops are expected to soar to \$700 million this year. And Gary Hengstall, vice-president of the New York City-based Beverage Marketing Corp., a leading industry research company, expects that the beverages will be just as popular in Canada as they have been abroad. "It just came back from London [England], and it's everywhere," notes William Sharpe,



Alcopop drink sales multiply and consumers abuse teens enjoying for the sugary beverages

chief executive officer of Lakeland Brewing Corp. of Mississauga, Ont., which is now brewing Hooch for Ontario and Quebec and will soon supply northeastern U.S. markets. "It's the most successful branch of a new beverage product in a decade."

But if the experience on the other side of the Atlantic is any indication, younger North American drinkers in particular will flock to alcopops. And many British and alcohol groups, including London-based Alcohol Concern, say that by flooding alcohol to taste like pop, the industry has deliberately targeted teenage drinkers. "It's hard to see how these drinks are not meant to encourage young people to start drinking younger and younger," says Alcohol Concern director Eric Appleby. "I wonder when they will bring out a bottle with a test on it."

There have been several hot exchanges over alcopops in the British House of Commons. Late last month, in an attempt to deter teen drinking, Kenneth Clarke, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, levied a stiff tax of 34 cents per bottle on the drinks. Meanwhile, under public pressure, the U.K. beverage industry is keeping an eye on the marketing of alcopops. In September, an orange-flavored alcoholic drink called Bunches, whose label depicted a young man appearing to be in pain from a hangover, was pulled from the market.

Labeling on the brands available in Canada has so far not generated any controversy. Two Dogs comes in a green beer bottle with two bulldogs on a yellow label. Binger's Bunch depicts a sizzling yellow lemon in its advertising and label. But alcopops do seem to be winning popularity with younger consumers. Steve Hollinger, director of marketing for Mike's Hard Lemonade, which is distributed by the Mack Anthony Group in Vancouver, claims that Mike's is rapidly becoming the favorite drink of young males across the country, particularly university students.

Such assertions are keeping organizations concerned about alcohol consumption vigilant. Jim Whitman, executive director of the powerful, Toronto-based anti-drinking group Mothers Against Drunk Driving, says that if alcopops become a major factor in drink driving among young people, his group will quickly demand changes. And according to the Addiction Research Foundation's Mann, recent studies by the institution have clearly shown that teenage drinkers respond to alcohol advertising. He notes that in 1994, following the release of high-alcohol beers—which were supported by an extensive advertising campaign promoting the beer's extra punch—a poll of grade 11 and 12 male students who drank alcohol found that almost 85 per cent of the surveyed had tried the beer. Breaking executives say alcopops is aimed at 21-to-35-year-olds, but Mann notes that such a pitch usually extends downward in age. "Anything that is attractive to a 21-year-old is going to be even more so to a 16-year-old." And that may continue to make alcopops a going concern.

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Backpack HEALTHWATCH

SWEET RELIEF

The piercing pain flares on the left side of Bob Webb's head and left arm, and, on June 24, the 47-year-old British civil servant is reduced to days in a darkened room with cold cloths pressed to his skull. Webb's migraine headaches began when he was 4 and, until a few years ago, blazed red-hot trails from one side of his head to the other, drenching the pain. Then, in 1994, his doctor prescribed a powerful new drug called Imitrex, which can cure, most—though not all—of

an older medication called DHEC (dihydroergotamine).

The sudden surge of drug-company activity is just one of the trends that is making the lives of migraine sufferers less painful. Another welcome development is the gradual crumbling of the stigma that branded migraine sufferers as victims of their own neuroses. Says Dr. Werner Siebert, a Calgary neurologist, "This is a physical illness with a neurological basis that can result in significant disability."

In Glasgow, 40 north of Vancouver, endure three-day migraine attacks almost every week because of his age, doctors are reluctant to give him prescription drugs. "The headaches last a lot," says John, "and my stomach gets upset—both at the same time. It's pretty wild."

During the past decade, scientists have made progress in discovering clues to the neurological events that cause blood vessels in the scalp and brain lining to expand and, by pressing against nerve endings, bring on the burning pain of migraine. One of the biggest breakthroughs came in the mid-1980s when researchers in the United States and Europe found that the process could be interrupted by targeting certain blood-vessel proteins. These proteins can trigger a chemical cascade that in turn leads to migraines—a discovery that made Imitrex possible.

The latest clue turned up by Dutch scientists could prove equally important. What

University of Leiden researchers found was a defective gene that causes migraine headaches accompanied by temporary paralysis on one side of the body. That form of migraine is extremely rare. But the Dutch finding may have wider implications because the gene's normal function is to create channels on one side of the body that might explain why some migraine sufferers find all attacks by using calcium channel-blocking drugs originally designed to treat heart problems. Some findings, the researchers charge of the Dutch team, think it is likely that the same gene plays a role in other types of migraine. Says Siebert, "We believe this is extremely important."

Even with the advent of better medication, some migraine patients' headaches are so unbearable. Gloria Daly, a Toronto technical in-

Webb: a powerful new drug has made a big difference in my life



structure in her city who had to stop working two years ago, has tried dozens of drugs—without finding success. "I really hope," she says, "the pain is like something being hammered straight into my head," says Daly. "I get angry that nothing has been found that will stop the pain." Now, as scientists close closer to cracking the mystery of migraines, lasting relief for even the hardest-to-treat cases may finally be in sight.

The lives of migraine sufferers can be a constant ordeal. Attacks, frequently accompanied by nausea and vomiting, can be set off by changes in the weather, lack of sleep or a missed meal—or by a variety of food triggers that vary among individuals and include chocolate, cheese, nuts, food additives, some vegetables, red wine and other alcoholic drinks. About two-thirds of sufferers are women between 25 and 45. But migraines can strike people of either sex at any age. Eight-year-old Julian Bowers, who lives

MARK NICHOLS



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Schafel (left), Christie: among ordinary is power a rocket

Passion in the Eyre

JANE EYRE

Directed by John Caird
Music and lyrics by Paul Gordon
Book and additional lyrics by John Caird
Based on the novel by Charlotte Brontë

A square of spiky staircases and bridges crosses a moody sky. A couple of trees reach out spindly, their branches permanently palmed by the wind. Like ghosts from the past, people in the elaborate clothing of the early-19th century appear along an upper walkway and begin to sing about an orphan girl's long struggle towards understanding and love. *Jane Eyre*, Charlotte Brontë's 1847 gothic romance is now a musical. It has already been a movie (a fever that Jane tried), but with this moody world premiere at Toronto's Royal Alexandra Theatre, Brontë's tale has been appropriated by the same ambitious industry that created *The Phantom of the Opera* and *Miss Saigon*. No doubt there will be those who cry foul at the desecration of a literary masterpiece (Jane's director, Canadian-born John Caird, says that one reason its makers launched the show in Canada rather than England was that they felt Canadian audiences and critics were less likely to object to putting Jane's love on stage). But while the book is in danger of losing out to the musical in the increasingly dramatic core, and enough pro-

duction savvy to keep it going for some time. In fact, the show's Toronto-based producers, Ed and David Marway, plan to take it to New York City in the spring. Yet *Jane Eyre* arrives just when it is becoming fashionable to say that the mega-musical is dead. Andrew Lloyd Webber has declared it so and

he might be right, having written more than a few himself. Caird has pointed out that *Jane Eyre* is not the sort of show where, as he put it in an interview with *Marlowe*, "the set goes up and does a dance." But while there are no crashing chandeliers or spiraling staircases in *Jane Eyre*, it is still somewhat rough, having cost \$6 million to mount. It features 21 actors (including 15 Canadians, none of them is black) playing 19th-century, and has an epic sweep that covers two decades and every stratum of British society. Its emotions are big too. *Jane Eyre* is very much in the romantic tradition of *Les Misérables* and *Phantom*, where an uncontrollable love upsets and transcends an entire world. Paul Gordon's score reflects this with its melodramatic, lyrical sweeps and solos that return obsessively to the heights of language. On the whole, his music has a curious similarity to that of *Les Mis*, though the individual songs are by no means as melodic or as memorable. And yet, despite

the absence of anything distinctly human, Mr. Gordon's score gets the job done in its own self-fulfilling way.

What the production does best is to portray the extraordinary love story at its centre. When Jane (Marti Schafel) signs on as governess in the country home of the darkly charismatic Rochester (Anthony Crivello), the two are overwhelmed by passion. But both are held back by a sense of the unbridgeable social distance between them. Rochester, of course, is also haunted by his own tragic past, and the secret it has deposited in his heart. The chemistry between Schafel and Crivello could power a moon rocket. His long, dark hair perpetually dishevelled, his glance flashing intensely, Crivello can vibrate enough of the demon lover to make Jane's involvement seem dangerous. And yet he also reveals the moral anxiety that lingers at Rochester's potential for goodness.

Schafel is completely captivating. To begin with, there is her face: just conventionally pretty, but with some indefinable quality of character that fills it with a beauty far beyond the ordinary. In a miracle of acting, Schafel conveys all of Jane's deep inner turmoil and moral struggle—the audience is just as likely to fall in love with her as Rochester is. And she sings beautifully, turning Jane's self-berating solo, *Reading Her Portrait*, into a searing revelation of a young woman's inner divisions.

For all that, the musical has its failings. Jane's solo about the inferior social status of women, *Silent Rivalling*, makes her sound, belatedly, as if she had been reading Gloria Steinem a century before the fact. And the chorus *Secrets of the House* is too heavy-handed in its denuding of the litigious plot scene. At such moments, *Jane Eyre* sounds as if it were just a kitschy, cliche-ridden version of its moonbeams and roses.

A drama of extraordinary love fires a new musical

And yet, through thick and thin, the cast performs well—Mary Stout is particularly delightful as Rochester's bumbling, abashed housekeeper, Mrs. Fairfax. And Caird's direction, staying new, suggests one of the better choices to speak Jane's thoughts—her voice, both male and female, echoing around her with all the volatile, contradictory currents of the human mind—is one of the most effective innovations of recent musical theatre.

Jane Eyre marks a new level in the increasing tendency of musicals to depend on the poetry of individual songs. Perhaps it is no longer accurate to speak of musicals in the old sense at all. In *Jane Eyre*, everyone sings most of the time, but what lodges in the mind are the reverberations of an irresistible passion.

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6:00pm
World Beat News

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CFTO-TV



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Books

Diamonds are forever

Kinsella returns to the ball park of the fantastical

IF WISHES WERE HORSES

By W. P. Kinsella
(HarperCollins, 216 pages, \$20)

Lovers, not California, is clearly the sitcom state in America, at least for W. P. Kinsella. It was there that Ray Kinsella, the hero of *Shoeless Joe* (1982), built the baseball diamond where the ghosts of long-dead players can swing the bats again. And it was there, too, that Gordon Clarke of *The Invisibles* (1985) traveled through time in his quest to prove the existence of that forgotten league. Both characters are back in Kinsella's new novel, *If Wishes Were Horses*, this time listening to the even more bizarre story of their fellow lover, Joe McCoy.

McCoy, a mediocre no-nigger-is-a-guy pitcher, is on the run, wanted by the FBI for kidnaping and other crimes. Or so he thinks. In fact, for McCoy is convinced that he is

stuck in an existence he was never meant to live. His mind is flooded by memories of events in his "real" life, the one in which he turned Maureen, the girlfriend he abandoned as a teenager. Something or someone is thrusting him through to where he ought to be—providing the memories, prompting the otherwise inexplicable criminal acts. Struck by Maureen's remark that "there is the finest of lines between fantasy and reality," McCoy eventually heads for his fellow downbeat, eccentric, two guys who also "know weird," who might provide answers or, at least, belief.

In Kinsella's hands McCoy's colliding lives

and ever more hallucinatory situation propel an absorbing story of longing and regret, in which the hero can locate and smelt experiences that never happened. It is also very funny. In one encounter, McCoy meets his mother some years after her demise. Once he has the sort of dream conversation with her that marked his childhood, he muses that "nothing changes people, not even death." But his strange juxtapositions of reality

do change McCoy. When his band suddenly opens a World Series ring, he is catapulted into a vivid rebirth of his spectacular short relief work for the Philadelphia Phillies in 1963, the year they won the pennant over the Toronto Blue Jays. A handful of McCoy's pitches made the difference between that triumph and the Jays' win recorded in this life. Just as McCoy's current wretched situation comes from a series of bad calls before the Toronto Blue Jays' trademark metaphor, he uses it fearlessly in this tale of love and second chances.



The author, colliding lives

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BOOKS

Great plays and glory days

BY D'ARCY JENISH

A few years back, when the Toronto Blue Jays owned the best bench of barbers and hitters in the world, sportswriters and pundits took to predicting that baseball was destined to replace hockey as Canada's national pastime. And when four million people a year were joining Toronto's SkyDome to watch the Jays, when a minor league team was drawing full houses in Ottawa, and when parents were lining up to register their kids in local baseball leagues, who could argue with the wags' gags up in the press box? But the country's book publishers knew better. They knew that when Canadian sports fans pick up a book and stretch out on the couch, it is hockey, not baseball, that they want to read about. "Canada is quintessentially a hockey country," says Cynthia Good, publisher of Penguin Canada. "There's no comparison in the way hockey and baseball books sell."

Canada's perennially cash-strapped publishers have responded by getting out hockey books faster than the NHL sells its new franchises. This fall's deluge of titles includes biographies of former stars Horne (Bacon Books), Grolfiron, Howie Morenz and Terry Sawchuk. There are books about the business of hockey (the drama of the Winnipeg Jets and the fight for control of Maple Leaf Gardens), and the history of hockey (the origins of the game and the impact of the Second World War). There are books about the captains of the Montreal Canadiens and about inter-national hockey. Predictably, there are new titles devoted to the NHL's now-mythical Original Six era, which lasted from 1942 until 1967. And, of course, there are several big, glossy photo books destined to land with a thud under Christmas trees across the nation.

And this barrage, the average fan could be forgiven for feeling like a goalie being bombarded by opposition forwards. However, one title—*MacGregor: Memories of a Man Who Couldn't Play* (Knockout, \$27.95), by New Brunswick novelist David Adams Richards—stands out. It is a reminder that Canada's national game is still more about culture than commerce, because hockey is so

deeply embedded in the lives and nightmares of so many Canadians. Richards takes a big swing at the literary analysis of the sport. As he puts it, watching a game in his home town of New Castle on the Miramichi River "with people screaming their guts out for boys who grew up next door is better to me than a Stanley Cup in Tampa Bay."

But *MacGregor* is also a splendid memoir about Richards's own little struggle to play power defense in the 1960-1961 season alongside his friend Stafford Foley, a dubious youth with fading eye-



From *A Day in the Life of the National Hockey League: Chicago*

The array of books on hockey is vast and varied

sight. Richards has used a novelist's gift for character, dialogue and imagery to produce a touching portrait of hockey-crazed kids. In one particularly memorable scene, he describes the joy a poor kid named Michael derived from playing hockey on the Miramichi. "Those times in the dark night air with his wooden sweater on, sliding puck at us and sending us by the board backwards, during one of those rare and beautiful instants that seemed to swallow the ice—at those times the hurt whenever it came from was all gone away and he was free."

Another winning offering comes from the prolific Ottawa author and journalist Roy MacGregor. Fresh from last season's best-selling *The Nowe Trust*, *Fathers, Sons and Hockey*, which was nominated for a Governor General's Award, MacGregor has turned a collection of previously published columns into *The Ser on a M. Premier: Stories of Family Life* (McClelland & Stewart, \$19.95). Good columns can often seem stale when reissued between hard covers. But not MacGregor's. Here he is, describing a bunch of kids who have taken a break from a game on a creek to stare at a massive bearish the on. "And the answer looked up, it would have been Canada. It would have seen children racing and shivering and laughing. It would have seen long searches through the brush for missed pucks. It would have heard a country's

BOOKS

forgotten rhythm, wooden sticks on a puck."

It takes a new life that created high expectations but barely fails to deliver it in *Original Sin: True Stories from Hockey's Classic Era* (Reed Books Canada, \$21.95), a smartly illustrated, small-format book edited by Toronto novelist Paul Quarrington. Unfortunately, most of the editor's taste, which includes novelist Wayne Johnston and poet Judith Fitzgerald, let him down. But two of the contributions stand out: Quarrington's comment on former Boston Bruin defenseman Eddie Shore as a "white look at the true core of one of hockey's legendary tough guys. And rock guitarist Dave Bidlo offers a stunning, first-person narrative in which the long-haired Chicago Blackhawk goalie Charles Gardiner, spending his own time, recalls how he led the Hawks to their first Stanley Cup in April, 1934, when he was mortally ill and barely able to stand. "One of northern," the ghostly Gardiner says, "someone handed me the Stanley Cup. I saw my face in its reflection, and I looked all puffy and red-eyed and dazed. But I was smiling. So, like a real, bona fide, 100-percent mugger, I sat there and cried a river. Well, I cried harder tonight than in front of thousands."

Tragedy of another sort looms large in *Shank: The Legend of Terry Sawchuk* (Viking, \$22), by Toronto writer Brian Kennedy, who has put together the season's best biography. The mostly forgettable Sawchuk, one of the best goalkeepers ever, played 21 seasons—longest his glory years with the Detroit Red Wings and Toronto Maple Leafs. He died in 1970 from internal injuries suffered in a fight with a teammate, by which time he was broken, divorced and drinking for



From *Original Sin*: A tough guy's iron core

too much. For those who prefer light, feel-good reading, there is *Joanne Bowie: The Life and Times of Margaret Graham* (McGraw-Hill, \$27.99), in which the former Canadian star tells his story to New York City writer Stan Fischer, and *Gully McGee* (The House of Anansi Press, \$24.95), by N.C. journalist Charlie Hodge. Dundas, Ont., writer Michael Unger has produced a more substantial work in *Canadian Capricorn: Nine Great Montreal Canadiens* (Macmillan Canada, \$27.95). Unger wisely avoids a simple retelling of the list and excavates such as Maurice (Rocky) Richard and Jean Beliveau, concentrating instead on explaining their mythic status for hockey fans.

In contemporary professional sport, no season is complete without a few major business stories to distract players and fans, and hockey is no exception. CIBC journalist Thomas Yedon recounts a weird financial saga in *Offside: The Battle for Control of Maple Leaf Gardens* (Viking Penguin, \$23). Yedon starts as the star steps on the ice, with an opening chapter that is hopelessly muddled. But she then regains her focus, guiding the reader through five years of boardroom bickering, conspiring and backstabbing that began even before longtime

owner Harold Ballard died in April, 1989. The battle ended earlier this fall when grocery magnate Steve Storer agreed to cough up \$40 million (a \$15.56-per-share, or \$23.5-million, premium over its initial offer) and slated away with one of hockey's most profitable properties.

Throughout the same period, another dollar-driven battle was occurring on Manitoba over the fate of the Winnipeg Jets, who left after the 1985-86 season and resurfaced as the Phoenix Coyotes. University of Winnipeg political scientist Jim Silver examines that fight in *Thin Air: Money, Politics, and the Dreamer of an NHL Franchise* (Fernwood Publishing, \$15.95). Silver, who belonged to the original construction of a new arena at public expense to keep the Jets in Winnipeg—tells a sad but familiar story of a small market losing its team due to the exorbitant demands of owners.

Hockey's future may be in the U.S. sunbelt, but its past is firmly anchored in Canada, as Garth Healey makes clear in *The Puck Stops Here: The Origins of Canada's Great Winter Game* (Goose Lane Editions, \$24.95). Youghis, a retired Windsor, N.S., surgeon, challenges the conventional wisdom that hockey was first played in Kingston, Ont., and Montreal in the late-1870s. He well-documented book argues that schoolboys in Windsor, 60 km west of Halifax, played a primitive form of the game as early as 1812.

Providence writer Douglas Hunter, who lives on Georgian Bay's Severn Sound, has weighed in with a sprawling, thoroughly researched and instructive account of professional hockey during the Second World War. Entitled *War Games: Case Studies & Hockey's Fighting Men* (Viking Penguin, \$29.95), the book is built around the Maple Leaf owner's impassioned and controversial attacks on then Prime

Minister Mackenzie King over his reluctance to impose conscription.

Canadians may have created hockey, and Americans may be taking control of the professional game, but the sport is really international. This fall, two books deal with hockey's global reach. With some help from Ontario-based author Lawrence Martin, Minneapolis native and longtime Winnipeg Jet prospect Ted Hartig has written a rich, anecdotal account of a season (1990-1991) in the elite Russian league in *From Behind the Red Line: A North American Hockey Player in Russia* (Warwick Publishing, \$19.95). Roy MacMunn, another Ottawa author, revisits the single most important showdown in the history of the game in Cold War. The Amazing Canada-Soviet Hockey Series of 1972 (Goose Lane Editions, \$22.95). MacMunn has written a lively retelling of that night's game, heart-thriller, and makes some pertinent conclusions. "The truth was, we Canadians had been an insular, isolationist, self-protective, ignorant lot when it came to 'soft' games," he writes. "We needed the shock and come-apprise the series provided us with the opportunity to transcend world second."

Hockey, having been invented in the age of horsepower and wind-driven ships, has always managed to transform itself. And two new photo books capture some of those changes. *Legends of Hockey: The Official Book of the Hockey Hall of Fame* (Penguin, \$50) depicts series through its blend of sepia-toned photos and high-contrast contemporary ones that today's players are generally bigger, faster and much better equipped, than their predecessors. Finally, *On Ice: The Life of the National Hockey League* (HarperCollins, \$26), a visual record compiled by 80 photographers dispatched to all corners of the 36-team league on March 25, 1996, reveals that Canada's national pastime has become a big, brassy, colorful business—for better and for worse. □

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BOOKS

In Uncle Sam's shadow

Two writers reflect on Canada-U.S. relations

BY DALTON CAMP

According to Toronto historian Jack Granatstein's *Yankee Go Home: Canadians and Anti-Americanism* (HarperCollins, 317 pages, \$28.95), anti-Americanism in Canada is at its lowest ebb, and has become "increasingly incoherent." And a good thing, too. "Having American was a fundamentally corrupting attitude," he writes, "a barrier, and destroying concern that Canadians employed to explain to themselves their slower growth and lesser power." There was a time when Granatstein felt differently—and might have had much in common with Mel Harris, on the question of Canadian nationalism. In his new book, *At Twilight in the Canada House: A Canadian Nationalist Story* (Dart, 497 pages, \$29.95), Harris—the former publisher and sometime politician from Edmonton—claims he has never been anti-American, describing himself instead as "anti-American." He writes: "When you say we shouldn't sell out our entire country to non-Canadians... some mental nudge is inevitably told you 'anti-American.' These colonialist-minded folks must be dead and blind." Harris recounts the stubborn Canadian sentiment and, if Granatstein is right, possibly the last one.

Both nations would agree that anti-Americanism does not mean Canadians dislike Americans on sight. But Canadians continue to be wary. Many are still skeptical of the national hero's free trade, and cannot fail to note American insensitivity to Canadian cultural concerns. These worry Granatstein, appreciable less than they do Harris, but then Harris is assuming the same decline of Canada is a national sin. Granatstein is celebrating.

The prolific Granatstein is something of a counter historian, offering his own insights, amendments and addenda to the accepted version of Canada's past. He acknowledges that the United Empire Loyalists "played a central role in creating English Canadian nationalism—but that they stood for war, order and good government, rather than for civil liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which became the American ideal."

But Granatstein argues that the "Loyalist myth" became a kind of pious consolation, "a comfort during the years of slow growth after the creation of the dominion, when the prospects of the new country seemed limited, not least by comparison with the extraordinary westward way in the United

States." Easy, he says, not to dwell "on the list of principle grievances that Loyalists held against the United States," and become part of the anti-American culture of Canada. That may have been true, but future historians will no doubt note how late Canadians of the late-20th century envied America for its education, news, leisure thrills, corrupt politics and deepening class divisions.



Harris with his wife, Kay, taking on the windmills of U.S. domination and global capitalism

While Granatstein is a somewhat expert partisan, Harris—whose book is part autobiography and part requiem for his cause—is a stanch one. Sometimes, however, they view events with the same talented eye. The Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States was, for both, a great watershed. "The last grasp of anti-Americanism," Granatstein calls it, for Harris, it's nothing less than "the dismantling of Canada." The so-called Shinyork Summit of 1985 would mark the beginning of the end for both authors. Granatstein records the heated scene: "As the nation watched a televised gala performance from Quebec City, [then-prime minister Brian] Mulroney and his wife, Mita, led President and Mrs. Reagan onstage for a quartet (with the Reagan quartet in embarrassment throughout) of *Where Did You Are Soaring*. This public display

of reaching up to Reagan may have been the single most demeaning moment in the entire political history of Canada's relations with the United States."

This is a remarkable passage from a historian recognized for his cool and sometimes disdained detachment. Granatstein nevertheless appears to favor free trade, regarding it as part of Canada's growing up as a nation—even though he points out that it has "notably failed to live up to its proponents' expectations." But with FTA and NAFTA, Canada "had at last accepted its North American destiny—disentangling Canada from the United States was now utterly impractical." So, then, what's so wrong with a chorus of *Where Did You Are Soaring*?

Meanwhile, Harris's lament over crip-

pling continentalism is, in the end, largely about himself. Rich in anecdote and occasionally argued, it is almost always interesting. There is about Harris something of both a Churchill and a Don Quixote. He is always being kept abreast of things by "road-level people" in Ottawa and Washington bureaucracies, or others in Toronto, and—mysteriously—Winnipeg, who leads to him cheerfully and often. He writes copious letters and letters. And then, along with the usual group of suspects, we see him taking on the windmills of American domination and the shoddiness of global capitalism. But he is an irrepressible public citizen whose heroes include, in no particular order: Walter Gurdin, Tommy Douglas, Jack Kennedy, Eric Kermans and Mel Harris. It is a pity there is no political party in Canada large enough to include him. □

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Allan Fotheringham

Debating Quebec on the Potomac

Washington, post-Thanksgiving, pre-Christmas, is in a holiday pattern. The scene in front of the Willard Hotel, where Abe Lincoln used to sleep, is not yet in operation. Neither is Bill Clinton, who has been taking a miserly time in packing his new cabinet, preferring to golf with Gary Norman in Arizona.

All the young men, in suits, look terribly nervous on their rounds, knowing the world's fate rests on their decisions. No shirts too young to stuff. All the young women carry briefcases, the secrets to Bosnia and Bosnia held therein. It's not the casual place where we would expect to find the answer to the Quebec puzzle next, but we take things where we find them. One must never ignore casual laughter, but they live and are sane.

The Canadian Embassy, towering in white beneath the shadow of Capitol Hill, looks half-dead twice a year: a collection of Canadians who work in the vast network of international organizations that sprinkle the Washington landscape. Stuffed for real looks; they gather over warm white wine for important news from afar—such as the newest queue from Shelly Cappe or Mike Harris's skills with the English language.

On this occasion, there are some 30 guests from Quebec: industry representatives, casualists, federal government types. Jacques Parizeau could not be detected behind his monstrosity. At an evening event across the Potomac, in a Virgin restaurant that serves lobster, the size of a cathedral's altar, the scribbler encounters one such guest. She is very serious, 55, divorced with two kids, has wanted her way up the ladder on her own, failed by technique and sheer determination.

I suggest to her, an old theory that Quebec will never separate, that when the crunch comes in the voting booth, Quebecers vote their will, as she knows as their belly "flee or stay," she says. "It's some-what lighter than the belly." She points somewhat higher than the belly. She points to where her heart is. "It's passion," she explains. "Passion will keep Quebec within Canada. She has, in her government portfolios, seen Lucien Boivin at work in both Ottawa and Quebec City. She sees him as an opportunist.

There is a clever young man from Quebec Telephone in the puber-



ing. He travels to Bolivia, to carry abroad the expertise developed in his own province. When Quebec is so respected abroad, he reasons, why would it want to risk the economic perils of becoming an international country. There is the senior executive of SNC, Lavalin International Inc., who knows Africa like the back of his hand and just shakes his head in weariness when asked about the question that so puzzles so many people.

The Canadians in Washington were surprised that Michel Gauthier had resigned as head of the Bloc Québécois—mainly because most of them had never heard of Michel Gauthier. I told them not to look bad, neither had most Canadians at home. The findings of a poll that Preston Manning was more known in Quebec than poor Gauthier finished him off.

The separatists have a problem. They have only one god. God in sacred Lucien Boivin and all beneath pale before his brilliant shaven. Gauthier, a decent man, never had a hope. Neither will whoever succeeds him.

The game is all being played in Quebec City. The Bloc has become irrelevant in Ottawa, its only star game to another jurisdiction—where he is finding it a little surprising that there are such things as critics and deficits.

The Canucks on the Potomac, who miss hockey, view it as a distant activity above the border in some-what the same fashion as the Americans—who just drink we're all nuts. They used to think we were just dull as they think we're also nuts to get into this situation. Can dull people also be nuts? I guess so.

The Americans can not solve the problems of their inner cities, the look for too many of the 12 per cent of the population that is black. The number 1 crime in the United States is young black men shooting other young black men, usually in their own over designs. Canada cannot as yet solve the problem of two founding races who came here four centuries ago. The Americans, after that trying to kill off the original inhabitants seem by now to have treated them much better than Canada has. We both still have water towers.

During prime minutes from Quebec last 20 of the last 28 years obviously has not solved the problem. It is not really going to help when Jean Chrétien, after waiting to victory again in the spirit, leads the world all stage time in the future to Paul Martin, who is from Saint-Maurice.

When the country needs, no obviously as to be a no-brainer, no leader from the Rest of Canada who can seriously take Quebec with a mandate that matters. Peter Laughland, should not it, because of his lack of confidence in his no-variant French.

Some now thought David Peterson could do it, but he left on his own self-motivated sword. There is no Anglo outside Quebec who has the soul of a giant on his. TRDC has only itself to blame. It's got to produce its own leaders.

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